

## THE LIBRARY.

RICHARD COPLEY CHRISTIE.

**I**N offering last quarter the first of a series of portraits of eminent bookmen, we noted that we used the word bookmen as the best which could be found to include the librarians, private collectors, and bibliographers with whom we should be concerned. In Richard Copley Christie, whose portrait, from a painting by Mr. T. B. Kennington, subscribed for by his friends at Owens College, we here present, the word receives its fullest possible embodiment. We believe that at different times Mr. Christie has served, mostly as chairman, on the committees of quite half-a-dozen libraries. He has, at a cost of twenty thousand guineas, presented the Owens College, Manchester, with a library-building, to which one day his own books will be transferred. The Library Association has ever known him as one of its warmest friends, and in 1889 he took office in it as its president. Libraries, moreover, have found in him a historian; for in 1883 he read before the Association a paper on those connected with the old churches and schools of Lancashire, which was published two years later, in an expanded form, in the "Proceedings" of the Chetham Society.

As a book-collector Mr. Christie takes rank as the owner of a library in which the tools of the scholar and the hobbies of the book-fancier meet together in pleasant

fellowship. A long array of early Greek classics, beginning with the "Æsop" of 1480, a fine collection of Aldines, countless editions of Horace (more, it is said, than have ever before been brought together), and an exceptionally fine set of the pretty volumes which issued from the Lyonnese presses in the middle of the sixteenth century, are balanced by a fine working library of the books, classical, historical, and bibliographical, needed for Mr. Christie's own studies in the history of humanism; and the room specially built to hold them, high on a Surrey down, is worthy of its contents, and an ideal workshop for a scholar. We must mention, too, in connection with his book-collecting, that Mr. Christie is a member of the Roxburghe Club, and presented to it in 1897 a volume with that pleasant personal touch which every Roxburghe Club book ought to have, "The Letters of Sir Thomas Copley," an Elizabethan "recusant" whose name is represented in his own.

As a bibliographer Mr. Christie has given finished examples of each of the three different methods in which bibliography may work. In his "Bibliography of the Writings of Dr. John Worthington" (a Lancashire worthy of the seventeenth century) we have the formal bringing together and setting forth of information as to books and editions. In such papers as "The Chronology of the Early Aldines," contributed to the first volume of "Bibliographica," and the note on "An Incunabulum of Brescia, hitherto ascribed to Florence," in vol. iv. of the Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, a wealth of learning is brought to the neat and masterly elucidation of a single small point. Lastly, in his "Etienne Dolet, the Martyr of the Renaissance," first published in 1880 and issued last year in a revised edition (a French translation appeared in 1886), we have bibliography in its highest form, in which it becomes fused with literature and history, lending and receiving in turn increased accuracy and vividness by reason of the connection. In 1892 Mr.

Christie helped in the creation of the Bibliographical Society, taking the chair at the preliminary meeting and becoming one of its earliest vice-presidents. The first president of the society, Dr. W. A. Copinger, living in Manchester, was often unable to attend its meetings; during the years 1892-94 Mr. Christie constantly took his place, and by the interest which he infused into discussions greatly assisted the society in its early days.

Mr. Christie has done so much for the studies in which "The Library" is interested that we are in danger of forgetting that they have only formed one of the recreations of a life which, without them, would have been abundantly full, though much less happy. Born in 1830, he went to Lincoln College, Oxford, taking in 1853 one of the two first classes awarded in the School of Law and History, then newly established. A year later he began his long connection with Owens College by accepting the chair of History, to which, in 1855, he added that of Political Economy. In 1857 he was called to the Bar, and soon gained a large practice as a Chancery barrister and conveyancer in Manchester, resigning his professorships at Owens College in 1866. From 1872 to 1893 he held the chancellorship of the diocese of Manchester. From 1887 to 1897 he was chairman of the great firm of Sir Joseph Whitworth and Co., and as one of the trustees to whom Sir Joseph left such wisely large discretion he has benefited Manchester in so many ways that the freedom of the city, which was conferred on him last October, can seldom have been more fittingly bestowed. His interest in all that relates to Manchester and its neighbourhood has supplied another source of recreation, of which those conversant with the subject would have as much to say as has here been recorded of his studies in books. It is attested by his presidentship (since 1884) of the Chetham Society, and by his thirteen years' tenure of the same office in the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (1883-1895), for which also he edited the "*Annales Cestrienses*" in

1887. Educational matters have furnished another outlet for energy ; and here Mr. Christie has worked, not only as an active teacher, but also as a governor of Owens College and of the Royal Holloway College at Egham.

That the evening of a life so full and so beneficent should be overcast by painful and crippling illness is a sad thought. But amid his pain Mr. Christie still keeps an interest in his old pursuits, and friendly thoughts for those who are working at them. To these fellow-students he has set an example, which they cannot value too highly, of a zeal for accuracy, which approaches almost to a passion—a passion, in his case, sweetened by a genial sense of humour and unfailing kindness, which render the sympathy they venture to offer him in his illness both deep and keen.

### IN PRAISE OF THE NOVEL.

**B**Y many the novel is held to be the disreputable member in the family of literature. There are few, indeed, who do not read novels, but generally we speak of the practice as something to be apologized for: rest was needed; time was to be killed on a tedious journey; distraction was necessary from some unpleasant thought or over-heavy work. Two most intelligent men have been lately in my office who spoke of novels as a class almost with loathing. I stood the other day with one of our most eloquent and influential ministers, watching the throng always passing about the racks which contain our latest fiction; he spoke of them contemptuously as "novel-tiplers," and asked if something could not be done to abate the unhealthy appetite. I just now read the words of a man inclined to take a gloomy view of the present condition of Massachusetts.



"They say," he declares, "that nearly every one of her 365 towns has a public library. Is that a good indication? Half, or more than half, the books they circulate are novels." No more, in the opinion of this writer, needs to be said. The public library as a means of doing good can be set aside at once, because a large part of its business is the circulation of novels. If novel-reading is an evil, then indeed the public library has much harm to answer for.

I have lately noted in my reading the testimony of certain men entitled to respect, which has a contrary bearing. The great English writer and statesman, John Morley, at the opening of a public library at Arbroath, in Scotland, last summer said: "I know librarians who quite break their hearts at the tremendous demand for novels, taken from free and other public libraries. Now the average, taking Great Britain all over, is 60 to 65 per cent. of fiction of all the books issued from lending libraries. Is it anything very discouraging that 60 to 65 per cent. of the books taken out are novels? I do not think it is. I am not going to make any apology for reading fiction in the land of Sir Walter Scott. I say that he is a very wrongly educated man who has not been entranced by the whole range of fiction from Cervantes to Scott and Dumas or Fenimore Cooper, and half a score of other admirable novelists. Of course you can read too much of fiction, just as you can be too cheerful at a cake and wine banquet. I have heard that not many years ago, at the British Museum Library, there was one gourmand for fiction who read thirty novels a week. That, of course, is an abuse; but I always like to think of the story I have read somewhere of a certain blacksmith in the south of England, who somehow or other got hold of Richardson's novel, 'Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded,' and who used to sit, so the story goes, on his anvil on summer evenings, and read out of this novel evening after evening—and it is a pretty long novel. His homely audience was entranced

and captivated by the story, and when the time at length came when he arrived at the end of the third or fifth volume, and the hero and heroine came to a prosperous and good union, the audience gave a great shout, and then demanded the keys of the church, and went and rang from the church bells a downright merry peal. Therefore I am not going, I say, to quarrel with the taste which so prompts, as we all know it does, these human sympathies, and teaches us the width of human feeling and human character."

Said Dr. Emil Hirsch, the famous Chicago rabbi, at the dedication of the Chicago public library in 1898: "Men and women require the refreshment that blows from the tablelands of imagination. Life has many a heavy hour which asks to be lightened. A people that reads even for amusement, and meaningless novels at that, is guarded against falling into traps but too easily sprung. Had our library done even more for its novel-devouring readers than it has, it would have deserved well of the community. Austere disciplinarians and ascetic fanatics may repress for a time the natural ebullitions of the lighter moods of a people. Virtue and a smiling countenance are not dwellers at opposite poles. The novel has a place by the side of the Bible. For I go one step further, and maintain, with the full knowledge of the bearings of my words, that even the ordinary novel, unless it be absolutely vicious, is conducive to the cultivation of the humanities. It introduces us to persons, to men and women. It depicts the workings of human passion, and illustrates, however poorly, the interdependence of man with man. It arouses human sympathies; while the master works of the great novelists always present the impressiveness of strong character and the tragedy or the triumph of its positive self-assertion. Moreover, fiction is never beyond the atmosphere of the age in which it is written. Books are the windows: through them we get a peep into the tendencies and temptations of the times that built the

casement. No crisis and no storm through which the world has passed on to its progressive destiny, no thought that vitalized or disturbed the conditions of men on earth, but has affected the pen of every contemporaneous author, and often has found, in the guise of story and plot, representation and exposition. And for this reason, too, does fiction illustrate national dispositions. Novels reveal the home-land of their progenitors. The American novel echoes the faith and the genius of the American people. It exhales the breath of our mountains and prairies; and the men and women whom it has created are free-born, sharp-cut individualities, independent and self-reliant. The novels do their share to enlarge their readers' humanities and strengthen their patriotism."

In line with these opinions may be cited the words of the great Master of Balliol, Benjamin Jowett, who is on record as saying: "There are few ways in which people can be better employed than in reading a good novel."

If it were the case that the novel serves merely to amuse, that alone would be reason enough for its existence. The bow must be from time to time unbent in order that it may retain strength to speed the arrow. But novel-reading may be more than a simple pastime. Since the beautiful is, in the best æsthetics, one and the same thing with the true and the good, and since the taste is that faculty of the soul by means of which we seize hold of beauty, it is well worth while that the taste in us should be made fine and strong. Among classes of literature, it is by general consent poetry which makes fine and strong the taste. Hence mainly is it that the reading of poetry is felt to be a good thing. For some reason, however, at the present day the form of poetry has less charm for the world than was once the case. Rhyme and rhythm enchant the ear less; the great poets are all dead; none come forward to take their places; the wells of Parnassus are gone dry. But if there is no poetry, is there nothing that will serve in its place? The Germans have a class of literature to which they give

the name *prosa-dichtung*, prose-poetry, and this is no other than the novel. The novel, they assert, is, barring its outside form, one and the same thing with the epic and metrical romance, and lies, properly, under the same canons of criticism. Goethe wrote "Hermann and Dorothea" and "The Sorrows of Werther," Scott wrote "Marmion" and "Ivanhoe," Longfellow wrote "Evangeline" and "Hyperion"—in each instance a metrical romance and a novel; and except that in the case of one of the pair, the writer spared himself the trouble of hunting for chiming syllables and beating out the rhythm of the metrical feet, the efforts of his genius must have seemed to him in both kinds of composition to be one and the same thing. Except for the musical flow, to which, for some reason or other, the modern ear has become rather unresponsive, in what way is the effect upon the reader's mind different, whether the story is given in verse or otherwise? No, the novel in our time has largely taken the place of the poem, whether the fact is to be regretted or not; and this can be said with entire truth, that if good poetry refines the taste, so does the good novel refine the taste, and therefore it does not deserve to be looked on askance. How impressive is the line of masterpieces in this class which the nineteenth century can show! "The Heart of Midlothian," "The Scarlet Letter," "Les Misérables," "David Copperfield," "Henry Esmond," "Romola"! What light would go out of the literature of our period if the brightness of these were subtracted! Indeed, the dwelling upon these, and such as these, makes fine and strong the taste, so helping us through beauty to the good and the true.

But the novel has still another function than to improve the taste. The skilful teacher of rhetoric instructs his pupil desirous of learning how to put his thought effectively, to employ the concrete rather than the abstract, to put the lesson he wishes to convey into the form of a story rather than to state it with bald directness. It is the experience of everyone that the preacher but drones who talks

abstractions, whereas if he puts his truth into some concrete type the pews are all alive. By means of the novel it is possible to convey lessons in the concrete; there is no more potent vehicle of instruction; particularly in the fields of sociology, philosophy, reform, it has shown itself to be an effective instrument. Charles Reade, in his "Hard Cash," did much toward abrogating abuses in the treatment of the insane; in his "Never Too Late to Mend," he helped powerfully toward a reform of a vicious penal system. Dickens, in "Nicholas Nickleby," smote with an effective axe a bad system of education. American slavery seemed impregably intrenched until "Uncle Tom's Cabin" laid low its ramparts for ever; and it was Edward Everett Hale's "Man Without a Country" that brought home to America with beneficent power in our time of trial the worth of a noble patriotism.

"The novel has a place by the side of the Bible," the sentence just now read as contained in the extract quoted from Dr. Emil Hirsch, will perhaps jar upon many an ear. Though a Jewish rabbi may say it, would it not be irreverent in a Christian? With all reverence let us ask what was the method of the Master. "A certain man had two sons and the younger said unto his father: 'Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth unto me,' and he divided unto them his living." Or this: "And it came to pass that a certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves, which stript him of his raiment and departed leaving him half dead." I do not know that it has ever been claimed that the Master in his parables asserts literal fact. He wishes to teach the beauty of forgiveness; instead of proceeding abstractly he employs the concrete, putting his lesson into the story of the Prodigal son. He wishes to teach the beauty of pity; again he employs the concrete and constructs the tale of the Good Samaritan. That is his usual method, and I am unable to see how the *method* differs from that employed by Ian Maclaren, who in order to impress upon the world

the loveliness of self-sacrifice tells the story of Dr. McClure; or of Kipling, who to teach simple devotedness to duty makes up the tale of Bobby Wick; or of Hopkinson Smith, who makes vivid the unselfish heroism of humble life by the portrayal of his rough divers and pilots.

If we could have only the *good* novels, it may be said, all would be well, but the novel is so liable to abuse! The novel is not the only class of literature liable to abuse. There are poems, poems too of genius, which minister powerfully to what is depraved in man. There are books of philosophy which inculcate a base Hedonism, that the greatest good is low pleasure. I know a book, the "Lives of Twelve Bad Men," faithful biographies, the reading of which is not edifying. A good woman once came to me full of concern over the announcement that a newspaper of the town proposed to print each Sunday morning a detailed account of some famous crime. There was reason for trepidation: what was proposed was to give faithful history, yet the effect was sure to be demoralizing. There are bad books in other classes of literature besides fiction. If the novel must be discredited because the form of writing may be abused to the harm of men, not less must history, biography, philosophy, and poetry suffer discredit.

If these considerations seem just, it ought not to be a subject of grief that a library is responsible for much novel-reading. In the selection of fiction the Book Committee should exercise discrimination, trying to restrict the supply to books of a good kind. If there are among borrowers any persons resembling John Morley's British Museum frequenter, reading thirty novels a week—if there is abuse of that kind, it is much to be regretted; but is it a reason for abstention? Though there are drunkards, gluttons, and sluggards, we do not for that reason cease to drink, eat, and sleep.

JAMES K. HOSMER.

## EARLY SPANISH-AMERICAN PRINTING.



R. GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, has contributed to its transactions a letter addressed to the Hon. Samuel Green, LL.D., on early Mexican printing and printers, fifty copies of which have been struck off separately for the members of the Massachusetts Club of Odd Volumes. The inspection of this interesting little brochure has suggested to the present writer some observations on remarkable examples of early Spanish-American printing in the British Museum, as well as on one or two points connected with Mr. Winship's own subject upon which he has not touched. One of these is of great importance, the question what actually was the first Mexican, and by consequence the first American, printed book.

So unsatisfactory are the beginnings of New World typography that the book to which precedence is usually assigned can, for the present, only be proved to exist in a record of the title-page; while one to which the late Señor García Icazbalceta, whose comprehensive treatise, a model of diligent research, is almost the Alpha and Omega of Mexican bibliography, seems disposed to accord the honour, cannot be proved to have existed at all. Its former existence and its priority are indeed vouched for by an archbishop, an honest witness without doubt, but who did not himself come into existence until nearly thirty years after the alleged publication. Davila Padilla, Archbishop of St. Domingo about the beginning of the seventeenth century, expressly declares that the first book printed in Mexico was a Spanish translation of the "Spiritual Ladder" of St. John Climacus, made in New Spain by Fray Juan de Estrada, and published in 1532. Señor Icazbalceta points



out that this date is impossible, he having himself demonstrated that type cannot have been imported into Mexico before 1536, nor the book printed before 1537, in which case it would be two years earlier than the first which he is able to describe. His principal grounds for accepting this date appear to be the high character of the archbishop, and his special opportunities for obtaining information through his connection with the religious order to which Estrada belonged. This we allow, but the probability of error after the lapse of a generation is in our opinion much too considerable to justify the conferring of such an honour upon a book whose very existence is matter of hearsay. Granting this existence, who can say that the book may not have been printed in Spain, and merely imported into Mexico?

There can be no question of the Mexican origin of the book of 1539, while at the same time a strict application of the rule *de non existentibus et de non apparentibus* would wipe it out of the competition. The inestimable little volume, in truth, is precisely in the position of the imperial author's

Traff on worming dogs,  
Whereof the name, in sundry catalogues,  
Is extant yet.

For the "Breve y mas compendiosa doctrina Christiana en lengua Mexicana y Castellana, impressa por mandado del señor don Fray Juan de Zumarraga, primer obispo desta gran ciudad de Tenuchtitlan, Mexico desta nueva España, en casa de Juan Cromberger, 1539," is not now accessible: although the title is given in the *Cartas de Indias*, Madrid, 1577, with such minuteness as to prove that the copyist had an original before him. But what if it were merely a title-page? The book, at all events, cannot now be traced, and there appears to be no clue to any past or present possessor.

The second book known to have issued from the Mexican press, a "Manual de Adultos" for the instruction of the natives, printed in 1540, writhes in the very

jaws of annihilation, but still survives to the extent of at least three leaves, formerly in the library of Señor Pascual de Gayangos; preserved, we may trust, by his heirs, and visible in the guise of a facsimile in the late Señor Icazbalceta's standard bibliography. We have said at least three leaves, for Icazbalceta has another curious problem to discuss, whether two more leaves containing Pope Paul III.'s bull of June, 1537, on the religious instruction of the Indians, are to be regarded as a fragment of this manual. They state themselves to belong to some manual, and their typography agrees with that of the Mexican "Manual de Adultos." This argument is not quite decisive, since the Mexican printing-house was an offshoot of Cromberger's at Seville, and the types may have been identical. The probability, however, would seem to be that the bull really is a portion of a Mexican edition of the manual. Another question, however, may readily occur: was this really the first Mexican edition of the bull itself? This was issued in 1537, while the manual of which it is supposed to form a portion was, as we have seen, printed in 1540. It embodies Papal decisions on points momentous to the clergy of Mexico, and must have been brought to their notice with the least possible delay. What machinery was adopted for this purpose? Was it exported ready printed, or merely transcribed on its arrival? or may it not rather have been put into type in Mexico? In the latter case it must in all probability have been printed in 1538, in which case it would be the earliest American printed document, unless, which is in no respect improbable, some other Papal or official broadside had preceded it. The presumption would have seemed very strong in favour of some such prototypic publication, save for one consideration, the scarcity of paper, all of which had to be imported. The problem opens as fine a field as the Columbus letters for the skill of the fabricator; should a forgery be attempted, the quality of the paper will probably prove the vulnerable point.

The next specimen of the Mexican press is believed to be a narrative of the earthquake which destroyed the city of Guatemala in 1541: "Relacion d'l espãtable terremoto q̃ agora nuevamente ha acontecido en la cibdad d' Guatimala. Impressa en la grã cibdad d' Mexico en casa de Juã Cromberger, 1541." It is a black-letter tract of four leaves, which certainly existed in Madrid when Icazbalceta's bibliography was published in 1886, the notice of the only known copy having been communicated to him from Madrid by Señor Gonzalez de Vera. The possessor, however, is not indicated. Should it be in the National Library at Madrid, or any other public library, this institution may boast of possessing what is practically, until the "Doctrina Christiana" is re-discovered or the "Manual" re-integrated, the first existing and perfect book printed in the New World.

Not more than three American books, then, can at present be proved to have preceded Bishop Zumarraga's "Doctrina breve muy provechosa de las cosas que pertenecen á la fe católica y á nuestra cristiandad," etc., Mexico, 1543. One of these is a fragment, another is not producible, and the present locality of the third has not been made public. The British Museum, then, may well be proud of its ability to exhibit, in the King's Library, the fourth book printed on the American continent, as the earliest at all likely to be seen. Though so precious for its antiquity, the "Doctrina" is less rare than many Mexican books of more recent date. Señor Icazbalceta, who himself possessed a copy, knew of seven or eight more. The Museum copy, nevertheless, brought 805 thalers at the Andrade sale in 1869, and Mr. Thomas Watts, then Keeper of Printed Books, who acquired it for the nation, found it necessary to advance the original commission.

Mr. Winship mentions several of the most important of the subsequent productions of the early Mexican press, but does not include one which, after the very earliest, is

perhaps the most interesting of any: the "*Ordinarium sacri ordinis haeremitarum sancti Augustini episcopi & regularis observantiae*," Mexici, 1556, printed by Joannes Paulus Brissensis, the successor of Cromberger, the first Mexican printer. No more than three copies of this book are known, one of which is in the Museum; but its special interest is not its rarity, in which it is rivalled by many other Mexican books, but the fact of its containing the first music ever printed in the New World. Musical notes are of frequent occurrence in the text, and the last nine leaves are, but for the accompanying words, entirely occupied by music, thus defined in the book itself: "*Sequuntur*," it is said, "*intonationes tam ad matutinas quam vespervas, et completorium, et benedictionum. Et tonus Evangeliorum, Prophetiarum. Et lectionis refectorii, & capitulorum: et orationum: tã ad missam, vespervas, & matutinas, quam ad horas.*" The rarity of this book made it an object of keen competition at the Ramirez sale (1880), when it was stated to be unique. It then brought £76; but its greatest claim to bibliographical distinction as the first example of music-printing in America seems to have escaped attention on that occasion, nor is it remarked by Señor Icazbalceta himself. It would seem to have been first recognized by the present writer, who, on the book coming again to the hammer at the first Heredia sale in 1891, made a determined effort to acquire it for the Museum, and was fortunate in obtaining it for about the same price as it had brought at the Ramirez auction. In ignorance of its existence, the first publication of music in the New World has been stated to have taken place about thirty years afterwards.

Among the Mexican printers mentioned by Mr. Winship is Antonio Ricardo (Ricciardi?), an Italian, who began to print at Mexico in 1577, but whose glory it is to have been the first printer in South America, having removed to Lima in 1579, and printed there, in 1584, the first South American book. As Mr. Winship has been unable to

procure any good account of the early Peruvian books, we will describe the first three from the copies in the British Museum. The title-page of the first is wanting in the Museum copy; it reads, however, "Doctrina Cristiana en Quichua y Aymara." The colophon has "Impresso en la Ciudad de los Reyes [Lima] por Antonio Ricardo, primero Impressor en estos Reynos del Piru. Año de M.D.LXXXIII." The second is a "Confessionario para los curas de Indios: con la instruccion contra sus ritos, etc. Compuesto y traduzido en las lenguas Quichua y Aymara. Por autoridad del Concilio Provincial de Lima, del año de 1583. Impresso en la Ciudad de los Reyes por Antonio Ricardo primero Impressor en estos reynos del Piru. Año de MDLXXXV." The third is "Tercero Cathecismo y exposicion de la Doctrina Christiana, por Sermones": with the same imprint as the last. By an extraordinary piece of good fortune, these books had been bound together in one cover, and, being regarded as a single book, came simultaneously in 1891 into the possession of the British Museum, which thus acquired at a stroke the first three typographical productions of South America, though it wants, and probably always will want, the corresponding three of the northern half of the continent.

Mr. Winship's remark that he has as yet been unable to secure any good account of the works issued from the press of Ricardo, or from those of his successors on the southern continent, seems to indicate that he is unacquainted with Señor J. T. Medina's "La Imprenta en Lima," Santiago, 1890, which contains the titles, frequently, no doubt, brief, unaccompanied by the printer's name, and descriptive of books not seen by Señor Medina himself, of 1,155 books printed at Lima between 1584 and 1810. Mr. Winship's unacquaintance with Señor Medina's labours is no doubt owing to no more than one hundred copies of this miniature bibliography having been printed. The author, who is inferior to no living bibliographer in industry and accuracy, needs nothing but encouragement to

produce bibliographies of Peruvian, Chilian, and indeed all Spanish-American literatures, upon the colossal scale of the Argentine and Paraguayan bibliography he has already brought out under the auspices of the Museo de La Plata, an institution unique in the South American world.

We may conclude the subject of early Spanish-American literature in the Museum by a brief notice of two particularly interesting classes of books. One is those representing the primitive typography of Paraguay while Paraguay was under the sway of the Jesuits; and bibliographically remarkable, not only on account of their extreme rarity and as the earliest printed monuments of the vernacular languages, but from the extreme rudeness of the typographical execution. So blurred is the impression that they have been confidently stated to have been printed from wooden types; documentary evidence, however, as well as the judgment of experts in type-founding, determines them to have been made of tin: the importation of types properly alloyed having no doubt been obstructed by the jealousy of the Spanish government. In his Paraguayan bibliography Señor Medina enumerates seven of these remarkable productions, four of which are in the Museum:

Nieremberg. "On the difference between things temporal and eternal," translated into Guarani by Father Jose Serrano. *En las Doctrinas*, 1705.

Liturgical Manual in Guarani. Loreto, 1721.

\* Ruiz de Montoya. Vocabulario de la Lengua Guarani. Santa Maria la Mayor, 1722.

\* Ruiz de Montoya. Arte de la lengua Guarani. Santa Maria la Mayor, 1724.

\* Yapuguai. Catecismo [in Guarani]. Santa Maria la Mayor, 1724.

Yapuguai. Sermones y Exemplos [in Guarani]. San Francisco Xavier, 1727.

\* Antequera y Castro. Letter to the Bishop of Paraguay. San Francisco Xavier, 1727.

Those marked with an asterisk are in the Museum; and the Museum's copy of the Letter is unique. A greater curiosity than any of these printed books exists in the shape of "a fragment of a Guarani catechism and syllabary, consisting of two wooden leaves paginated 4 and 13, on which characters are cut in relief precisely as in Chinese stereotypic block-printing." This reversion to primitive xylography is in the possession of Señor Lamas, an Argentine gentleman.

Another very interesting group of early South American books are the four printed at, or at least bearing the imprint of, Juli, a mission station in the Andes, on the brink of Lake Titicaca, 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. It is somewhat doubtful whether a printing-press was actually carried up so high, or whether the books were not rather printed at Lima, and forwarded to Juli; all, however, bear the imprint of the little missionary station, and date from the early years of the seventeenth century. All four are in the British Museum. One, the "Life and Miracles of our Lord," by Alonzo de Villegas, translated into Aymara and "accommodated to the capacity of the Indians" by Father Ludovico Bertonio, and containing both the Spanish and the Aymara text (Juli, 1612), enjoys a distinction rare among books, in having been made the subject of a sonnet:

Screened in the shadows Cordilleras fling,  
Where straining breast scarce heaves, and straining eye  
Sees nought 'twixt lifted sight and silent sky,  
Save the huge condor hung on heavy wing:  
Small skill, great love, there made me, light to bring  
Where, sunk beneath the mountain far as I  
Had birth aloft, the Indian's misery  
Plied toil unblest for Europe's profiting.  
The silver that his labour sunward drew  
Now buys me, haply, in this foreign mart,  
Where Love and Skill and Labour bartered are,  
And it and I have interchanged our part:  
Homeward it journeys to remote Peru,  
Leaving me here beneath the Northern Star.

R. GARNETT.



## HOW THINGS ARE DONE IN ONE AMERICAN LIBRARY.

### II.

#### BOARD AND STAFF ORGANIZATION AND FINANCES.

**T**HE St. Louis Public (Free) Library is a development from the Public School Library, established by the Public School Library Society in 1865. In accordance with the original design of its founders it was turned over to the City School Board in 1869, and was supported by that body as an adjunct of the system of public schools. The School Board, however, could never appropriate enough money to make the institution free; and the subscription fee, though gradually reduced from sixteen to eight shillings, proved an effectual bar to its use by the general public and by the pupils in the public schools, for whom it was specially intended. Experience in the United States has shown that any subscription fee, even four shillings a year, payable in instalments, is sufficient to restrict the benefits of a library to a small portion of the community. At the end of its first year as a free institution, the St. Louis Public Library had more than four times as many cardholders as it had before; and now, after five years, it has about ten times as many—in round numbers, fifty thousand to five thousand. In the United Kingdom, I believe, the immensely superior effectiveness of a free library, compared with the best subscription library, is universally conceded. The chief argument against the free library here was that people do not value what they do not pay for. That is one of those dangerous half-truths which, like the witches' prophecies in "Macbeth," have ever deceived and deluded mankind. Those who do

not value books enough to pay for the loan of them are just the people who most need them; and if they will not take books as a gift, their children, at least, will, and will thereby grow up better citizens and happier men and women.

The Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Library consists of nine members, appointed by the Mayor, for a term of three years, three going out of office each year. It has been the judicious aim of the two mayors who have thus far appointed the Board to have it fairly representative of the different elements of the community. Three women have been members. The Board organizes each year by the election of a president and vice-president. The librarian is *ex-officio* secretary. The president appoints the standing committees for administration, auditing, and books. The executive committee consists of the president and vice-president, and the chairman of the other three committees. The respective functions of the committees are indicated by their names.

The rules give to the librarian the control of the staff, his action in appointing or dismissing being subject to confirmation by the Committee on Administration, and finally to the approval of the Board. Practically, all appointments are left to the librarian, and are based on the results of a competitive written examination. The grades of service below librarian and assistant librarian may be roughly classified and characterized as major heads of departments, heads of minor departments, senior clerks, junior clerks, apprentices, and pages. Except in cases of emergency, all appointments are made to one of the lowest grades. Candidates for the position of apprentice must be between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five, and, to have any chance of success in the examination, must have the equivalent of a first-class high-school education, including some knowledge of at least two foreign languages. The language examination usually consists of easy translations from German, French, and Latin, but other languages are accepted

as equivalents. Pages may be anywhere from twelve to seventeen years of age—they are usually about fifteen—and must have a good common-school education, with some knowledge of books other than text-books. Examinations for both grades are held regularly once a year and at such other times as may be necessary. The same salary is paid to apprentices and pages the first six months, after which the apprentices advance more rapidly, though their salary for the first two years is merely nominal, their compensation being largely the opportunity for learning library work, and an assured position as junior clerks at the end of their apprenticeship.<sup>1</sup> The pages, of course, are boys: the apprentices are chiefly young women, graduates of our high school or of seminaries of the same grade. Of high-school graduates only a minority succeed; and at least two college graduates have failed to make an acceptable percentage. They were probably like the young man in Charles Dudley Warner's last novel, who remarked to his better-read but less "fitted" college classmate, that he, too, "might have known something if he had not been kept at school all his life."

Having been guilty of one digression, I am emboldened to venture another. On two occasions I gave to five pages, averaging the first time about sixteen and the second seventeen years of age, the same examination given to candidates for apprenticeship who averaged, probably, twenty-two years of age, with the result that the boys came out ahead by 15 per cent. This means that the reading and study done by the boys during the two years in the library had given them a better knowledge of history and literature and more general information than was possessed by the candidates for apprenticeship with the advantages of seniority in years and four more years of

<sup>1</sup> Apprentices receive £2 a month for the first six months, £4 the next six months, £5 the third, and £6 a month the fourth half year. Messengers go from £2 to £5 a month in the course of about three years.

schooling. A creditable percentage in this second examination passes a page to the grade of junior clerk.

While on the subject of staff organization it may not be amiss to mention that we have a functionary that I do not recall having seen in any other public library, whose duties may be summed up in the title "official hostess." Her desk, bearing a large sign, "Information Desk," is in the middle of the delivery room. Most of the time, however, she is about the room greeting diffident newcomers, anticipating inquiries, explaining the card catalogue or pointing out the finding lists, and, in general, trying to do for the public what a gracious hostess does for her guests. The present occupant of this position is a woman of exceptional tact and *savoir faire*, who speaks French and German fluently, accomplishments which she often has occasion to use. The desk of the Assistant Librarian is close by the receiving window, but in front of the main counter; and he also is nearly always available for answering questions or giving assistance. To that end he has on one side of his desk a revolving bookcase filled with the handiest and most generally useful reference books, and on the other side, accessible to the public, a set of Poole's Index, Sonnenschein's Best Books, and other similar volumes. The general reference room is on the floor above, and is, of course, supplied with another set of Poole, together with all the leading cyclopædias and the best reference books that our fund enables us to purchase. Public documents occupy a separate room, as do reference books on the fine arts; and in another room are those relating to science and its applications. The juvenile department occupies a separate room with open shelves.

The possibilities of a library depend primarily on its financial resources, and secondarily on its management. A well-managed library may do as much work and add as much yearly to the value of its collection with an annual revenue of £10,000 as an ill-managed library with an income of £15,000. But, in general, the basis and measure

of a library's usefulness is the amount of money it can annually expend.

The chief support of the St. Louis Public Library is a tax of one-fifth of a mill on each dollar's worth of taxable property in the city. This is naturally an increasing sum. For the first complete year it amounted to \$59,340 (nearly £12,000). For the year ending with April, 1899, it was \$71,340 (£14,268). In addition to this the receipts from fines and from the issue of extra volumes from the collection of duplicates, etc., amount now to nearly £800 a year, thus giving an annual revenue of £15,000. We have every year set aside a portion of this to make payments on a building site. The expenditure for maintenance the first year was £9,671, and last year it was £11,162. The smallest expenditure in any one year was £9,344, and the largest, £11,600. The amount spent for books, periodicals, and binding has varied from £2,400 to £3,400, with an average of £2,900. For the first five years the library was under an annual expense of £2,000 for its rented quarters, including light, heat, and elevator service. A new lease secures the same accommodations for £1,500 per annum. The location of the library on the sixth and seventh floors of a commercial building is a heavy handicap to its progress. In a suitable building, and with its maintenance fund freed from the burden of payments on building site, the library could soon add 50 per cent. to its circulation.

In January of each year a budget is made up, apportioning to each fund the amount deemed necessary. This is carefully, though not slavishly, adhered to. A reserve fund of several thousand dollars provides for emergencies, and towards the end of the year this, with the surplus that is generally left in several of the minor funds, is usually turned over to the book-fund. Thus the latter, starting with £2,400, may be increased to £3,000.

A contingency fund of £10 to £15 per month is placed in the hands of the librarian for petty expenses. All bills above

£2, and usually those above £1, are paid by vouchers on the City Treasurer. These must be signed by the Librarian, by the Chairman of the committee by whose authority the expense was incurred, by the Chairman of the Auditing Committee, and finally by the President of the Board. A cash book is kept, showing the daily desk receipts for fines, "C.D." issues, books sold or lost and paid for, catalogues, lost cards, etc., etc. Every morning the money taken the previous day is turned over to the Librarian, who receipts for it in the book. A triple record of every cent taken in is made by means of the "autographic cash register." The original entry is handed to the payer as a receipt; the first duplicate the receiving clerk puts into his cash drawer; the third entry is locked in the machine; and when the roll of paper is taken out next morning it exhibits a complete record of the day's cash receipts. This furnishes a check on mistakes, and makes dishonesty at least difficult. Other customary account books are kept, as enumerated and described in my report for 1895-6.

FREDERICK M. CRUNDEN.

## ACCESSIONS : THE CHECKING OF THE PROCESSES.



ESPIE the fairly large amount of literature on library methods that now exists, and which is growing each year, there are many portions of our work upon which little or nothing of any practical value seems to have been written. If I am asked to give an example, I will instance the organization of the cataloguing department in a large library. It is as a contribution to this subject that this paper on the checking of the various processes through which books must pass

between their receipt by the library and their appearance on the shelves ready for the borrower is submitted.

In a small library, with two or three assistants, where the librarian is in the—in many respects—happy position of being able personally to supervise what he does not himself perform, an elaborate system of check is needless, and is in fact a hindrance, not a help. But in a larger library—especially a busy public library—the conditions are quite different, and checks are indispensable, both for economy of time and the avoidance of errors.

Before describing my own system, I will state the procedure of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, from information very kindly sent to me by Mr. Barrett, at my request, and which I have his permission to use.

Mr. Barrett employs a book and a stamp. The book, which is a foolscap folio, is ruled as in the diagram. "Its

#### The Mitchell Library. Rough Accessions Book.

Date	Name	First Word	Invoice Examd.	Cata- logd.	Invoice Filed	No. of Vols.	Amount	Remarks

purpose is to provide a first record of accessions, not book by book, but invoice by invoice, and to secure that all are subsequently entered, book by book, in the permanent stock book." The "date" is the date of the receipt of the book, the next column receives the "name" of the bookseller, and the next the "first word" of the bill. "Donations are considered to be added to the library as at the date of the committee meeting at which they are accepted; in this case the word 'Donations' is entered in the 'name' column, and in the 'first word' column a reference 'See Donation Book,' where the titles of gifts, the donors' names, and other information are fully entered.



The month's donations are treated for accession purposes as one lot." "Invoice examined" includes marking off in order book. "Catalogued" is not the process cataloguing, but means that the catalogue slips have been examined by Mr. Barrett—who himself keeps this book—and passed. "Invoice filed" is done "after the stock book entries are made on slips." The "invoice examined" column is initialled, the others are merely ticked.

As soon as they are checked, the books are stamped with an "accession stamp" on the back of the title-page, near the upper left-hand corner. This stamp is the novel feature of the system; annexed is an impression of it. The

The Mitchell Library.		
A 189743		
1 DEC. 98.		
W. R.	J. B.	C. D.
F. R.	F. T. B.	

1 Cut.	2 Stamped.	3 Book-plate.
4 Catalogued.	5 Checked.	6 Extra panel.

Accession Stamp, as used at the Mitchell Library. The diagram on the right shows the processes initialled for in the panels of the stamp.

number is the accession number, preceding which is a class letter. Below the date are six small panels, each of which is initialled by the assistant responsible for the process referred to it. These processes are tabulated in the enlarged diagram of the panels. Between the pasting in of the bookplate and cataloguing "the work goes into the hands of a senior, who locates it, that is, marks on it the shelf on which it is to stand, enters it in the location book, and applies its accession number." The last panel is generally left blank, but is there to be appropriated for any special purpose.

The panelled stamp is very neat, and the system has the advantage of preserving a permanent record, in each book,

of all that has been done upon it, and by whom it has been done. So far as these ends are concerned, nothing better could be devised. In devising a system, however, for our own library I was desirous of one which should satisfy a special requirement which a record in each book cannot.

I wanted to be able to go to a *set* of books in the cataloguing room and ascertain *immediately* the exact stage in the various processes at which they had arrived, so that, if need be, a fresh assistant could take up the work of the assistant previously engaged on the books at the precise point he left it, without delay and without mistake. This is a very important requirement which the perfected system of library organization—when it comes—will make a special point of all round. The specialization which is so great an evil in our large libraries, and which is a greater evil in America, is partly due to the waste of time and liability to error incurred by assistants trying to pick up the work in hand of some other assistant and carry it forward from the stage reached by him, though they may be quite competent to perform it. And the remedy for this is to oblige every member of the staff to leave his work, no matter what it may be, in such an intelligible condition that anyone else familiar with the work may take it up where it has been dropped.

I wanted also to make provision not only for the checking of each process as a completed whole, but for the checking of portions of a process, that is, as regards a number of books, done at different times, perhaps by different assistants, *e.g.*, twenty books of a lot of fifty catalogued by A, the remainder by B.

And I wanted to make the recording as brief and as little troublesome as possible.

On consideration I decided to try slips, one to accompany each lot of books, upon which the processes were to be typed or printed. Two kinds of slips are used, a first and second stage slip, of which I give copies.

Date.	22. 8. 99.	
Vendor.	M. and R.	
First word of bill.	Bullen.	
Checked with bill.	W. A. S.	
Donations:		
Entered.		
Slip.		
Ref. cop. marked.	J.	
Cop. marked for Lending Lib:s.		
	W. A. S.	
Sized.	W. A. S.	
Fiction collected.	W. A. S.	
Branch Cop.:		
Put away (except any not added to "C").	W. A. P.	
Class nos.	A. J. L.	
Charging nos. to Fiction.		
	A. J. L.	
Forwarded (with date).		
	5. 9. 99.	
Duplicates marked.	W. A. S.	
Replacements marked.		
Accession nos. given.	W. A. S.	
16970-16990.	R <sup>1</sup> 6115-6120.	
Processes finished.	W. A. S.	

Accession Routine Slip: First Stage, as in use at Croydon.

The unit of the first-stage slip is the bookseller's bill, or in the case of donations, the donations of a week ordinarily. As soon as a parcel comes from the bookseller, the books are arranged in the order of the bill, and a slip is opened for the lot, and placed in the end book. The books are then passed through the various processes, and the assistant responsible for each process writes his initials against it on the slip. A reference to the slip will show at once how the work on that particular set of books stands.

*Checked with bill.*—This covers comparing the books with the order slips and the bill. When a book is suggested for purchase either by myself or somebody else, the

<sup>1</sup> The "R" indicates reference additions.

usual particulars are written on a slip (2 inches by 8½ inches), salmon coloured to distinguish it from catalogue slips, and filed in a drawer labelled "Suggested Books." From these the list submitted to the Books Committee is made up, and the slips are transferred to a "Submitted to Committee" drawer. The slips of any books thrown out in committee are withdrawn and filed for future reference, and those approved are sorted into groups for the booksellers, stamped with the date of ordering, and transferred to a "New Books on Order" drawer; except those to be got second-hand, which are put in a drawer by themselves. When comparing book with order slip, any mistake, *e.g.*, misspelled author's name, wrong wording of title, etc., is corrected, and the slip is placed in the book, after being stamped with the date. From these slips later on the stock-book is entered up.

*Donations.*—A process slip is opened for, say, a week's donations, which are treated as a unit, going through the processes together. "Entered" means acknowledged and entered in the donation book. "Slip" means making out a slip for each book in place of the order slip.

*Reference copies marked.*—The next thing is to mark the books intended for the Reference Library—an "R" on the inside of the front cover, to be afterwards hidden by the bookplate.

*Copies marked for Lending Libraries.*—This refers to the copies for the Central and Branch libraries. These are distinguished respectively by the letters "C," "S," and "T," and these letters are marked in the respective copies on the inside of the front cover, like the "R" for Reference. In addition, on the "C" (*i.e.*, Central) copy the existence of "S" and "T" copies is noted by writing (all these records are in pencil) "S" and "T" in the lower left-hand corner of the back of the title-page. This is for the guidance of the cataloguer, who need then only handle the Central copy, which contains all the records he requires for cataloguing for all the libraries.

I should explain that we make one entry serve for both Central and Branches. The plan of cataloguing the Branches separately has been thrown over, with very great saving of expense, and added convenience in many ways. As books added to the Branches are, with few exceptions, simply a selection of those added to the Central, it seemed a waste of time and money to print several catalogues which overlapped to a large extent, when one could be made, with slight alteration, to serve for all. Moreover, where borrowers' tickets are available at any library, as with us, and where a borrower at a Branch can have a book which is in at the Central reserved by telephone, it is a great advantage to the reader to have in one catalogue the contents of all the libraries from which he is entitled to draw. This point in Branch cataloguing is well worth the consideration of every librarian who is cursed—I will let the word, which has slipped out, stand, as under present limitations of the Library rate they are an evil, though a necessary one—with Branches. Our system of notation for the libraries in cataloguing is to print the letters indicating the libraries in heavy-faced type in front of the number. The occurrence of any such letter in the entry means that a copy of the work will be found in the particular library signified. I append an entry from our last printed list of additions :

**Morley, Charles.** Studies in Board Schools. '97.  
**CST** 372.

*Sized.*—Quarto and folio books are marked with the size letters on back of title-page, upper left-hand corner.

*Fiction collected.*—All the fiction is brought together and put in front of the non-fiction books. This classification is only a rough one for convenience in cataloguing; any mistake, a non-fiction work included in fiction, or *vice versa*, is corrected when the books are classified.

*Branch copies.*—These are now picked out and "put away," except any not added at the time to the Central.

These must remain with the other books to be catalogued, as there are no Central copies in which to record them. In cataloguing these, the cataloguer is required to ascertain whether copies are already possessed by the Central, and any Branch not included in the current additions, and if so, to enter them on the slip, so as to make the entry complete to date. The next three processes are not done along with the others, as they are dependent on later processes through which the Central copies have to pass, and marked on the second-stage slip. "Class numbers" refers to the carrying on of the class numbers to the Branch copies, which are not yet given. "Charging numbers to fiction" is the same, but needs a little further explanation. In the case of non-fiction there is only one number printed, the class number, which is the same for all the libraries. But in fiction the charging numbers are printed, and these differed for each library, as each ran its own sequence, until it was decided that the charging number given to a Central book of fiction should be the number for any Branch copy of it, the Branch simply skipping the numbers of those books not possessed by it. This avoids the printing of several numbers in the catalogue. "Forwarded" means forwarded to the Branches, the remaining processes, cutting, stamping, etc., being done by each Branch.

*Duplicates marked.*—Picking up the processes in order of time, the next, after the Branch books have been eliminated from the set, and stored away till ready to be sent off, is to mark any duplicates, writing "copy A" if first duplicate, etc., a little below the centre of the back of the title-page.

*Replacements marked.*—This is noted by "repl." written near the left edge of the page in the centre.

*Accession numbers given.*—This does not mean entered in accession or stock book; if this were done now it would necessitate turning up the book again to insert the class numbers. The accession numbers are merely appropriated in the stock book, and carried on to the books (in centre

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of back of title-page) and order slips. On to the latter, I may remark here, are carried whatever records are required for the stock book. The first and last numbers are entered on the slip, followed by the initials of the assistant. If there are reference books, a division of the unit hitherto dealt with takes place at this point. It is broken up by the reference and lending accession numbers into two units,

Nos.	16970-16990.
Cut.	A. J. A.
Stamped.	16979 A. J. A.
	16990 A. J. L. <sup>1</sup>
Bookplate.	A. J. L.
Classified.	H. S.
Checked.	J.
Catalogued:	
Slip.	16975 W. A. P.
	16990 H. S.
Checked.	J.
Card.	
Checked.	
Accession book.	W. A. S.
Tag.	A. J. A.
Entered on Bookplate.	R. C.
on tag.	R. C.
Shelf list.	H. S.
Book card.	H. S.
Processes finished.	H. S.
Date.	22. 8. 99.

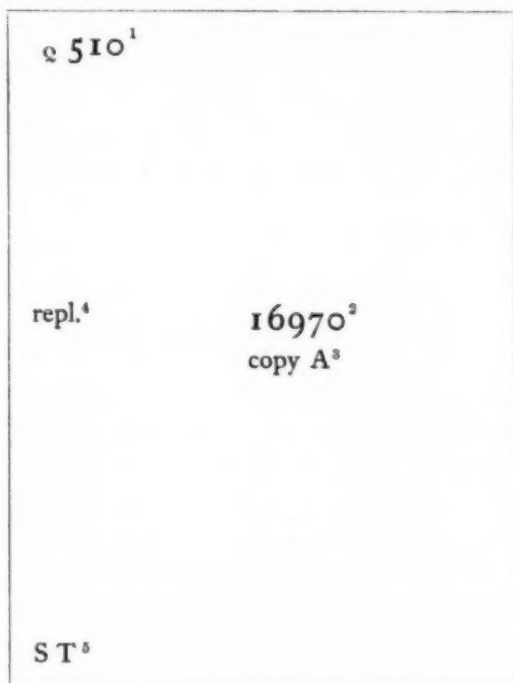
Accession Routine Slip: Second Stage, as in use at Croydon.

which are henceforth kept apart. And this last process will then include the opening of two second-stage slips, one for each lot. The first and last numbers of each accession sequence are written on the top of a second-stage slip, which now takes the place of the first-stage slip, and is put

<sup>1</sup> This means that A. J. A. has stamped as far as 16979, and A. J. L. has stamped the remainder. Same applies to the entries under "Catalogued."



in the last book of the set it refers to, to accompany it through the remaining processes; while the first-stage slip is filed with the Branch books, till the processes referred to under "Branch copies" are completed, when the slip



Back of a title-page, showing various pencil records, as used at Croydon.

is initialled against "Processes finished," to show that nothing has been missed, and stored with other slips in order of date, to be turned up if any question arises. It

<sup>1</sup> Size letter and class no.

<sup>2</sup> Accession no.

<sup>3</sup> Duplicate.

<sup>4</sup> Replacement.

<sup>5</sup> Showing Branch copies.

should be added that the opening of a second-stage slip includes the entering on it, in the lower left-hand corner, of the date, carried forward from the first-stage slip, so that reference from one slip to the other is easy.

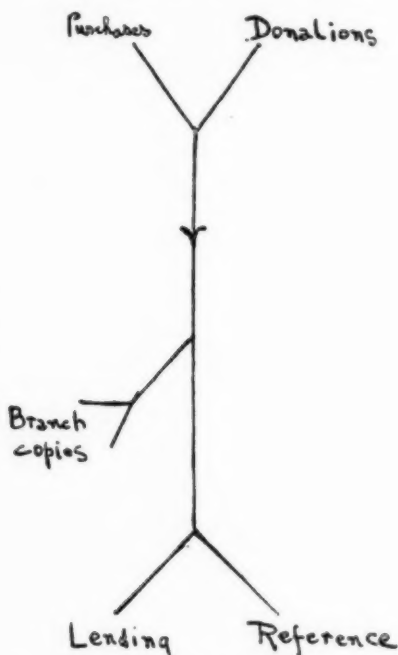


Diagram illustrating the function of the Accession Slip:  
First Stage.

The above explanation has been necessarily somewhat long, but I can be very brief with the second-stage slip. It corresponds with Mr. Barrett's stamp, but standing in relation to the set of books as that stands to the individual book. Should an assistant not complete a process, he enters the accession number of the last book handled on

the slip, followed by his initials. In this way, however many assistants may have been engaged on a particular process, there is no difficulty in fixing responsibility for every part of it. Of course, all books must be handled in sequence of their accession numbers. I find the back of the slip very useful for notes and special instructions.

The first-stage slip plays the part of a sifter. Books enter it, as it were, as an undifferentiated mass, and leave it in two streams, flowing into the Lending and Reference libraries respectively, while a kind of side current flows into the Branch libraries, as shown in the diagram on p. 162.

L. STANLEY JAST.

## BOOKS PRINTED AT SEA.



NOWADAYS, when the menus and programmes on board a well-appointed liner are printed as a matter of course, and even a small journal or magazine is not infrequently published during the voyage, it might be expected that some more important works would occasionally appear with the imprint Mediterranean, Atlantic, or Pacific. This, however, is not the case, and we must go back to the early part of the century to find books of any considerable importance printed at sea. The most interesting of these is one entitled: "The Bloody Journal kept by William Davidson on board a Russian Pirate in the year 1789. Mediterranean: Printed on board H.M. Ship Caledonia. 1812." It appears by a letter from Edward Hawke Locker to John Martin that Sir Walter Scott heard of the existence of this journal, and, thinking, from its title, that it would form a suitable subject for a poem, applied to Mr. Locker to obtain a copy of it. Locker was then on board the

"Caledonia" acting as civil secretary to Sir Edward Pellew, afterwards Viscount Exmouth, and at once forwarded Sir Walter's request to Sir Richard Keats, under whom Davidson was then serving on board the "Niger." Sir Richard procured a copy, certified it, and added some details of the discovery of the journal and of the life and character of its author. This Davidson was a Scotchman, and therefore better educated than the average English sailor of the period. He is described as a dark, sallow man, about thirty-five years of age, of an unsociable disposition, and remarkable for his extreme dread of physical pain. On one occasion, while being flogged for insubordination, he fell into convulsions; and when, a few months afterwards, he was sentenced to undergo the same punishment for striking a midshipman, his terror was so great that he attempted to commit suicide, and was consequently placed under arrest. During this time a report spread among the crew that he possessed a journal containing an account of a long series of atrocities in which he had taken part. Search was accordingly made, and the journal was discovered, and he acknowledged to Sir Richard Keats that its record of wholesale, cold-blooded slaughter was substantially correct. Davidson remained on the "Niger" for some years longer, but is then said to have deserted. He was subsequently pressed on board the "Royal George" (a successor of the ill-fated ship which sank off Spithead in 1782), and was accidentally drowned while belonging to that vessel.

The ship in which Davidson took service was a Russian privateer called the "Saint Dinnan," commissioned to act against the Turks and Greeks. He was on board from December 1st, 1788, until September 6th, 1789, and for the greater part of the time the crew were engaged in the continual butchery of the unfortunate wretches who fell into their hands, frequently to the number of several hundred in a single day.

Sir Walter naturally found the material far too revolting

to form the subject of a poem, so he inserted it in "The Edinburgh Annual Register" for 1810, under the title of "Journal of a Levant Pirate," and prefixed a short sketch containing most of the foregoing particulars of Davidson's career. A copy of the "Register" was sent to Locker, and the "Journal" was reprinted under his supervision by the cadets on board the "Caledonia," for whose amusement a printing-press had been supplied by the thoughtful care of Admiral Pellew. The printing was executed during a weary time, for the English vessels were sent to watch the French fleet which was shut up in Toulouse; and while waiting for the chance of a skirmish, it must have been an interesting as well as a novel experience to produce books where no printing-press had ever been worked before.

In the following year the officers of the "Caledonia" printed a much larger book, of nearly a hundred pages, containing translations of Ruiz de Padron's celebrated speech on the Inquisition and the oration entitled "Bread and Bulls," attributed to Jovellanos. The translations were made on board at the admiral's request, and the enthusiasm of the translators runs riot over the abolition of the Inquisition and the novelty of literary freedom in Spain.

The later productions of the printing-press at sea which have more than an ephemeral interest are those connected with some of the Arctic explorations. In 1819-20, during the celebrated voyage of Captain Parry to the Arctic Regions, a press was set up on board the "Hecla," upon the ships becoming ice-bound for the winter, and a weekly newspaper was composed and printed on board. It was called "The North Georgia Gazette and Winter Chronicle," and ran from November 1st, 1819, to March 20th, 1820. On the return of the expedition the gazette was reprinted, and copies of this reprint may occasionally be met with, but the original is of the utmost rarity. The contents consist mainly of facetious pieces in prose and verse, and notices of the plays performed at the theatre which helped

so successfully to beguile the tediousness of an Arctic winter.

In the expedition of 1850-1, sent in search of Sir John Franklin, a press was supplied by the Admiralty for printing balloon-papers. There were no printers in the squadron, but some of the officers soon learned the art, and, becoming adepts, they printed play-bills, announcements of fancy-dress balls, and songs and other trifles chiefly of their own composition. So great, indeed, did the passion for printing become, that when their stock of paper was exhausted, they printed on chamois leather, on shirts, and in one instance on a blanket! The last play-bill was printed on a slip of leather and on both sides, probably a unique specimen in every respect. It runs: "Royal Arctic Theatre. H.M.S. Assistance. Last Night of the Season, Friday, 28th February, 1851. Historical Drama in two acts of Charles XII. After which, Grand Phantasmagorical Magical Figures. To conclude with the new Pantomime of Zero. Doors open at six o'clock, commence at 6.30. Griffiths Island Printing Office." The theatre last mentioned was under the management of Captain Ommanney, and succeeded most happily in relieving the monotony of enforced inactivity.

From the interesting narrative of the American expedition to China and Japan under Commodore Perry, in 1854, it appears that while the squadron was stationed in the Bay of Hakodadi, off the coast of Jesso, the most northerly of the islands of Japan, a ship's crew got up a concert of Ethiopian minstrels, and bills of the performance were printed on board the vessel.

Doubtless the Arctic and Antarctic expeditions of the future will often include a printing-press in their equipment, but it is hardly probable that the officers of a modern man-of-war will find time or opportunity to print such books as those produced by the cadets of H.M.S. "Caledonia."

G. F. BARWICK.

THE FRANKFORT BOOK-MART.<sup>1</sup>

## A CHAPTER IN EUROPEAN LITERARY HISTORY.

**T**HE antiquary cannot but experience a certain feeling of disappointment, as he reflects, that in the history of cities, those only that do not flourish are permitted to retain their appearance of antiquity. When, as in the case of the city of Frankfort-on-the-Main, a town goes on rapidly prospering, its old streets and the buildings they contain are bound to disappear to make way for successors more in accordance with modern requirements. When we view the beautiful modern streets and gardens of Frankfort, we may be inclined to forgive Dame Fortune for the effects of her bounty; yet we cannot resist a desire to turn aside to admire, ere it is too late, the quaint old structures still to be found within a short distance of the younger and more stately mansions on the Zeil. It is, however, amongst the narrow lanes between the Römer and the Old Bridge over the Main, where one finds most to suggest the greatness of the city's past, and carry the mind back to a time when it was the chief centre for international trade in Europe. For centuries her half-yearly fairs, held at Lent and Michaelmas, attended as they were by merchants from all parts of Christendom, were really international exhibitions of all the products of

<sup>1</sup> The principal sources consulted are . Schwetschke, "*Codex nundinarius Germaniæ literatæ bisecularis*"; Schürman, "*Organisation und Rechtsgewohnheiten des Deutschen Buchhandels*"; Henri Estienne, "*La foire de Francfort, traduit avec le texte Latin par I. Lisieux*"; "*Calendars of State Papers*"; "*Parker Society Publications*"; "*Lettres de Peiresc, publiés par Tamizey de Larroque*"; Pellissier, "*Les amis d'Holsteinius*"; Prof. Arber, "*Contemporary Lists of Books printed in England*," in "*Bibliographica*," iii. ; "*Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*"; Parr, "*Life of Usher*."



the time, and were justly described as the greatest of the markets of the world.

The excellent provisions for the government of the fair made by the town council are highly praised by Henri Estienne II., the celebrated printer-scholar, a frequent visitor at the fair, in an account of it, dedicated in 1574 to the councillors and senators of the illustrious town of Frankfort.

According to him, the fair was a compendium of the markets of the universe: here a prince, desiring to equip an army, would find horses, arms, and ammunition ready to his hand; while as for food, he could at once obtain sufficient Westphalia hams, on which, in default of other provisions, he could keep an army for several months.

Not only on account of the variety and vastness of the trade carried on, but also because of the favourable reception given to travellers, did it deserve to be universally popular; for, in contrast to the practice at other fairs, the Frankfort authorities did not levy heavy dues on foreign merchants, and so careful were they to obtain respect for the persons of their visitors that though the murder of a citizen was followed only by banishment from the city, the killing of a stranger was visited with death. Like the town council, the citizens were fully alive to the advantages they derived from the attendance of so great a multitude of wayfarers, and the hotel accommodation they provided was very extensive, and of a character for which Estienne has nothing but praise.

In describing the various parts of the fair, Estienne takes great delight in the latest inventions and specimens of ingenuity he has seen; but his chief enthusiasm is reserved for the market, in which, from his inclinations and business, he was most interested. To Frankfort, in fact, at the time of the fair, he tells us, the Muses command their printers and booksellers to come, bringing with them their poets, orators, historians, and philosophers, not only those to whom Greece and Italy gave birth, but those also produced

every day in the countries visited by the nine sisters. Scarcely are they come together, than one can no longer believe oneself in the German city named Frankfort, but rather in that other city, the most celebrated in the history of letters, and formerly the most flourishing in Greece.

In this quarter, called by him the Frankfort Athens, not only would one expect to find the books of all writers, but also to meet with in person the most celebrated authors then living. This, an advantage which no library could procure, was peculiar to the Literary Exhibition or Academy of the Muses, as Estienne terms the assemblage at this book-fair. Here everyone might hear the words of a crowd of learned scholars, drawn together from all universities; often, in the booksellers' booths they were to be heard lecturing. And not only did these philosophers represent the universities of Vienna, Wittemberg, Leipsic, Heidelberg, and Strasburg, but also their foreign rivals, such as Louvain, Padua, Oxford and Cambridge.

At the time Estienne thus described it, the book-fair of Frankfort, as we have seen, had long reached a position of paramount importance to the literary public. Probably before the era of printing a trade in manuscripts was done at the fair in Frankfort; but situated as it was only a few miles from the town where the earliest books printed with movable types were produced (if it be allowed thus to refer to Mainz, without involving oneself in a discussion on early printing), the favourable conditions of the market were soon turned to account by the earliest printers, a trade in printed books at the fair having existed, according to Schwetschke, as early as 1485.

In 1501 we find Conrad Celtes publishing the works of the nun Hrosvitha at Nuremberg, and, in order to avail himself of the opportunities offered by the Frankfort market, obtaining in addition to the Nuremberg privilege a special license from the Frankfort authorities for the sole sale in that city. Thenceforward, there is no doubt of the place this book-mart had attained in the estimation of those

interested in the publications of the period. Thus Erasmus, writing to Bishop Fisher in 1516, mentions that the edition of the works of St. Jerome he had edited "will appear at the next Frankfort sales," it having been printed by Froben at Basle in that year. The celebrity of the fair made it, in the opening years of the Reformation, the hunting-ground of emissaries of Catholic authorities, who came thither with the purpose of securing the persons of energetic Protestants; and an interesting example of this is afforded in a memorial addressed to Cardinal Wolsey, by John West, Friar Observant in 1529, asking him "as the tyme drawyethe nere of Frankford Martte" to make ready a number of warrants for the apprehension of fugitives abroad, and in especial to prepare a letter to the Bishop of Mainz, "for the delivery of W. Roye and W. Hutchyns, otherwise Tyndalle, traitors and heretics." Wolsey we know was very anxious to catch these authors, for he had read Roye's satire, and, disregarding the request on the title, had been exceeding wrath. Considering the production as the work of Tyndale, to whom Roye had formerly acted as amanuensis, he made active exertions to secure them both, but without immediate success. As the Reformation movement progressed, however, the international character of the book-market became more pronounced: many of the town magistrates adopted the new doctrines, and under their protection this free town of the Empire came to be regarded as a haven of refuge to fugitives from all countries, especially from France, Flanders, and England. The half-yearly fairs of Frankfort were anxiously awaited by the exiles not only in that city, but also those generally throughout South Germany and Switzerland. Then they besieged the merchants who had arrived from their native land, to get from them such letters, clothes, remittances, perchance, as their relatives and friends had been able to send them. At the end of the fair the traders in returning were intrusted with replies, and also the letters of those (despondent indeed they were) who, having received no tidings from home, tasted the bitterness

of hope deferred, knowing as they did that another six months must elapse ere they could do so.

With the visits of English scholars we find English books at the mart. Miles Coverdale, writing to John Calvin, March 26th, 1548, refers to the bringing to Frankfort during the fair (then in progress) a "certain little book containing that Order of Holy Communion which the king's majesty has set forth as suitable to the present time." Theology—at least, of the controversial kind—being the most popular subject of the day, the anxiety of Peter Martyr, of which we learn in a letter from him to Utenhoveius, dated January, 1559, to arrange with the booksellers to have copies of his reply to Gardiner's "*De Re Eucharistica*" sold at the next fair in Frankfort, is not to be wondered at; and we see from these and other references how necessary it was considered to have publications brought to this market, for by this means, and by this means only, could one insure their reaching the literary public. Only to those fortunate enough to be able to attend the fairs were the chief publications of the season known, and the wants of the non-travelling public were not yet considered; it was reserved for George Willer, a bookseller of Augsburg, yet further to increase the usefulness of this universal book-exhibition, by issuing in 1564 a catalogue of new books exposed for sale at the autumn fair in Frankfort. This interesting document, a small quarto of twenty pages, mentions two hundred and fifty-two books, arranged into classes; the place where a book was printed or published is rarely given, but in the catalogue issued for the ensuing spring this omission is rectified, and from that onwards we are usually given particulars of origin. As we proceed, the names of printers and booksellers are more frequently mentioned, and it is interesting to note that whilst Henri Estienne of Geneva, whose description of the fair has been quoted, is one of the four printers named in the 1564 catalogue, an equally renowned publisher from Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, appears in that

for 1565. Many letters of this celebrated printer, referring to his business at the fair, have come down to us, the earliest of which is dated 1558. Though these references are of particular interest, yet we can here only indicate something of their character. Writing to Gabriel Cayas, the secretary of Philip II. of Spain, in December, 1566, he mentions that he had exhibited at Frankfort specimen leaves of his polyglot Bible then in progress, and there these sheets had attracted the attention of Augustus, Duke of Saxony, who had himself already expended large sums in preparing a similar work under the editorship of Jean Draconite, a Lutheran theologian; the Duke, Plantin tells Cayas, on seeing the work of the Antwerp printer, confessed it was impossible for his own enterprise to attain a like perfection, and resolved to abandon his contemplated publication, at the same time urging Plantin to persevere in his attempt, and promising him certain support. Again, we have a letter written some time after the spring fair of 1567, in which Plantin exhibits some vexation with a rival bookseller, Jehan Mareschal of Heidelberg, on account of his having taken away a case containing Hebrew Bibles from the back of his stall, in mistake for a case holding some books on civil law, although Plantin had been careful to point out to him from the commencement of the fair the right case, placed on the side of the booth next to the stall of Froben, the printer of Basle, and Plantin had remained long enough at the fair for Mareschal to come and remove it in his presence, instead of waiting until after his departure for Antwerp.

The Willer catalogue remained without a rival for thirteen years, until in 1577 a similar publication was issued by another Augsburg firm, John Portenbach and Thibaus Lutz. This was continued by them and their successors until 1616, coming to an end eleven years before the series circulated by Willer. Frankfort itself did not produce a catalogue before 1590, it being left to Peter Schmidt, a printer, to do so for one of the fairs in that year.

He does not appear to have followed this up, for not until four years later was a catalogue again produced to compete with those of the Augsburg booksellers; this time the firm of Egenolph (the production of whose presses are the earliest examples of printing in Frankfort) was responsible for it. This did not survive the one issue; the series, however, was continued by Paul Brachfeld, a bookseller with houses at Frankfort-on-the-Main, Leipsic, and Frankfort-on-the-Oder. To this catalogue the publisher prefixed an address to the reader, giving an interesting account of his effort to establish a bookshop in the city to supply the place of the book-mart between the time of the fairs.

The private catalogue in Frankfort came to an end in 1598, when the Town Council, annoyed at the complaints of the Emperor's book-commissioners, who for over twenty years had exercised a supervision, gradually becoming inquisitorial, into the books submitted for sale, determined to take the matter into its own hands, regarding itself as the sole authority, to declare what books should be sold, forbidden, or licensed, at the fairs held in the city. Obviously, not only because the classification of the religious books in the catalogues was a bone of contention, but also as a means of enregistration, the best course, and that adopted, was the publishing of an official catalogue of the books to be sold at the fair. The first two lists, published in accordance with this resolution, by authority, those for the autumn fair of 1598 and the Lent fair of 1599, were printed by Johann Feyrabend. From then until the spring of 1608 they were regularly printed by Johann Saur. In that year the Emperor Rudolph II. made another attempt to control the book trade of Frankfort and to read the Town Council a lesson. He commanded his book-commissioners to exercise every care to prevent the introduction of forbidden writings: they were directed to see that every book had the name of author, printer, and place of printing on the title-page, and also to require every printer and publisher, before he opened his stall to ex-



hibit his stock, to submit a list of all new books, a copy of all books not licensed being sent to the imperial chancery. The Town Council, which was instructed to aid the commissioners in their efforts, like most of the booksellers who attended the fair, did not view the proclamation and order with favour. As far as possible the terms of the proclamation were evaded, and the town authorities found it convenient to be blind to these irregularities.

Meanwhile, the Jesuits, aware that in spite of all their precautions many Catholic books were omitted from the Frankfort official catalogues, had begun to print at Mainz a catalogue of their own, which after 1614 was produced at Frankfort itself, where it is supposed to have been continued until 1625. In 1613 Heinrich Kroner, a lawyer, started yet another catalogue, printed at Frankfort, and as for this he had the special license of the Emperor, it threatened to prove a serious rival to those published since 1608 under the town authority by Sigismund Latomus. But the city fathers no longer possessed their former power, and Latomus, keen to note the signs of the times, succeeded in obtaining for himself the imperial license about 1617. Kroner's catalogue ceasing to exist, he was enabled to continue his publication uninterruptedly, though the Protestant theological works did not for long occupy the first place, Catholic publications shortly afterwards being described on the opening pages previously devoted to Lutheran and Calvinistic works. By Latomus and his successors the catalogue was issued until 1749.

These catalogues reveal to us much concerning the history of printing. In the large contribution from Venice to the book-fairs, which the early catalogues contain, we get some idea of the activity of typographical art in the city of Aldus. The strong representation of Geneva and Lyons reminds us of the rivalry, commercial as well as religious, that prevailed between the printers of these two cities. Again, while the influence of the Plantins in stimu-



lating their colleagues in Antwerp is readily to be seen, as we pass on into the seventeenth century, the success of the Dutch members of the craft, together with the rise of Elzevier, is no less marked. The first London publisher to be named is Thomas Vautrollier, he who was afterwards to find, from his experience with Giordano Bruno's works, that printing the works of an advanced philosopher was in those days attended by little commercial profit and a great deal of inconvenience. Following him we find mention of John Wolff, and some of the Nortons, and also Joseph Barnes, the Oxford publisher. But the most interesting figure among the English booksellers who regularly visited Frankfort was John Bill, who, traversing the Continent as he did in search of books for his chief patrons, Sir Thomas Bodley and King James, seldom failed to be represented at the fair. A letter of his to Dr. Widemann, of Augsburg, dated June 22nd, 1619, reveals to us the business he contrived to do at the fair in addition to the sale of his own publications and the purchase of the latest foreign books. Widemann had offered to King James certain very rare books, and John Bill asks the doctor to send them to the next fair at Frankfort; thence he will himself take charge of their safe carriage to England, where, if they proved to be as rare and curious as represented, they would be most welcome.

Bill made a successful attempt to issue an edition of the Frankfort catalogue for the benefit of the English public; for eleven years these catalogues appeared, the first of them, according to Professor Arber, being that printed in Bonham Norton's office for the autumn of 1618. In 1622 an appendix appears containing "Books printed in English since the last Vernal mart, which was in April, 1622, till this present October." The issues up to and including that for 1626 are supplemented by a similar appendix of English books. Even after the discontinuance of this catalogue the interest of the English booksellers in the fair was not inactive; indeed, the business they did

there must have been considerable, judging from a petition from Richard Whitaker to Archbishop Laud, dated November 13th, 1637. He thus complains: "One Hoogenhuysen, a Dutchman, being heretofore complained of in the High Commission for importing books printed beyond the seas, was bound not to bring in any more. One Vlack has kept up the same agency and sold books in his stead, and is lurking here, observing what is most useful and vendible, and causes it forthwith to be printed abroad. Petitioner having lately brought from Frankfort mart to Rotterdam four great vats of books to the value of £500, Hoogenhuysen, upon untrue suggestions, caused them to be seized, and sold to Vlack for £100. Vlack is now preparing to go beyond seas to avoid answering his late bringing over nine bales of books contrary to the decree of the Star Chamber, and procures some persons to pretend that he is indebted to them (as formerly Hoogenhuysen did), thereby to get the books into their possession. Petitioner prays order to bring the bales to Stationers' Hall, there to remain till Vlack has re-delivered to him the said four vats of books, or at least the same price as he bought them at." Whitaker's petition was acceded to, and the books brought to Stationers' Hall, but whether he succeeded in obtaining his own again, history does not tell; he seems, as we have seen, however, to have devised rather an ingenious retaliation upon his Continental rivals.

Contemporaneously with Whitaker, we find George Thomason, the bookseller, who, if for no other reason, has earned himself a niche in the Temple of Fame by the celebrated collection of tracts he gathered together relative to the Civil War, a collection long afterwards acquired by King George III., and passing by his liberality to the library of the British Museum. Thomason, as well as other English booksellers, like Bill and Fetherston, made extensive purchases of second-hand books in Italy, and the frequent journeys to Frankfort made by him and James Allestrye, his chief assistant, were usually managed in conjunction

with an Italian tour. It is interesting, as an indication of the good fellowship which prevailed between the bibliophiles of that age, whether engaged in trade or not, to find Thomason, in writing to Lucas Holsteinius, the learned librarian of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and one of the keepers of the Vatican Library, signing himself "Your auld acquaintance," in addressing him with reference to books. The letters of James Allestrye, also to the same scholar, usually terminate with kind remembrances from English librarians such as Patrick Young. However, it is not in Allestrye's correspondence with Holsteinius that we shall find much reference to his business at Frankfort; this we must look for in letters to his English customers. In fact, writing to Viscount Conway, July 18th, 1653, he says: "I perceive you have been at much pains to transcribe out of the Frankfort catalogue divers books you desire, and am sorry I cannot send them; but it is a very usual thing for the booksellers of Germany to send the titles of their books to be put in the catalogue before they are printed, so that at present they are not to be had." Modern publishers can at least plead the precedent of antiquity for their formulas *shortly*, *nearly ready*, and *in the press*, will-o'-the-wisps as they so often prove. Among book-collectors in England before Conway's time, of whose interest in the fair, and how they availed themselves of it, we have evidence, the name of Sir Thomas Bodley is pre-eminent. Frequent mention of the catalogues, and of the visits made by John Bill to the mart, may be found in the letters of the founder of the Bodleian library, included in Hearne's "*Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*." An Irish collector, equally celebrated with the Oxford benefactor in his zeal for the formation of libraries, Archbishop Usher, made large purchases, through his agents, from the Frankfort catalogues, for his own collection, as well as for the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Great as was the interest of these and of other English book-collectors in the fair, that of their Continental con-

temporaries was even greater. Pinelli, the great Venetian collector, made extensive purchases at every Frankfort mart. Peiresc, we are told by Gassendi, bought largely at Frankfort; and in his correspondence with the brothers Dupuy, who as custodians of the Royal Library in Paris did so much for that collection, we learn how eagerly they awaited the latest lists, and revelled in the latest literary news. Much indeed was forgiven to Celerier, the Parisian bookseller, who regularly attended the fair in person, and was intrusted with their commissions. From allusions in the letters we find these were not always satisfactorily managed, their agent's devotion to the bottle being a continual source of lamentation. But Celerier disappears from the scene about 1630, and the gap thus created does not seem to have been permanently filled. Peiresc complains, in 1633, that the booksellers in Paris prefer to wait for Elzevier's visits to that city to buying from him at Frankfort fair, and he adds that he fancies they get better terms. But by their preference for "journey" terms they do not keep up to date, and Peiresc cannot procure the latest Elzeviers from Paris. A year later a dreadful catastrophe occurs: Peiresc has not received a catalogue of the fair, nor has any been received in Paris; Peiresc comments that he supposes such a thing never occurred in the memory of man. However, he has heard that copies have been seen in Geneva. At last Diodati, a legal friend, comes to their relief, and lends a catalogue he has fortunately obtained, and a flood of correspondence ensues with respect to the latest announcements.

Flourishing as the book-mart of Frankfort was up till the middle of the seventeenth century, circumstances had long been making for its decay; in all the countries of Europe a wider literary public had been growing up, but a public which preferred its literature in the vernacular, and to whom Latin was not the familiar medium it had been to the readers of the past. This decline in the use of Latin as a universal literary language had an unfortunate effect

upon the system of barter, by which, in accordance with German practice, so much of the business was carried on at the book-fair. When Latin books were known as a general rule to be less saleable than those in German, it became difficult for the publishers of the former to do business with those who issued the latter; as a consequence, those who published in German betook themselves to the fair at Leipsic, which gradually became the great book centre in Germany, though without partaking of the cosmopolitan character of its rival on the Main.

The intestine troubles in France, the Civil Wars in England, the disastrous Thirty Years' War in Germany itself, all tended to reduce the importance of Frankfort as a distributing centre. Its decay was rapid: between 1650 and 1675 the number of publications mentioned in the catalogues fell fifty per cent., and though another century elapsed ere the last bookseller's booth disappeared, yet it had long practically lost all international importance, and, like many another institution that has played an important part in the world's history, the Frankfort book-mart disappeared into the limbo of forgotten things.

GEORGE SMITH.

## THE LIBRARIES OF GREATER BRITAIN.

### AUSTRALASIA (*continued*).



TURNING to the neighbouring Colony of New Zealand, we find a large number of important societies and institutions possessing valuable collections of books which are much used. Unlike the Australian colonies, New Zealand has no State library, but in Wellington and Auckland there are rate-supported libraries; Dunedin has a subscription library, and Christchurch has a library supported partly by public endow-

ments and partly by subscriptions; whilst in Napier, Invercargill, Nelson, Wanganui, Palmerston North and Oamaru, there are subscription libraries, the subscription ranging from ten shillings to one guinea a year. It should be mentioned that an agitation is now on foot for the establishment of a public library in Dunedin. Many of the smaller towns have institutions of minor importance which supply the wants of students in the country districts. The Auckland Public Library is by far the most imposing of the public institutions of the Colony, and was established in 1880, when it took over the collection of books gathered together by the Mechanics' Institute and Library, established in 1843, or three years after the foundation of the Colony. A special feature of the Auckland Public Library is the valuable collection of works presented to it by the late Sir George Grey, consisting of some 13,000 rare and choice books, about 700 manuscripts, over 3,000 autograph letters, besides a large collection of paintings and rare curios. The library contains about 34,000 volumes and pamphlets, and is destined in the near future to become a prominent rival of the magnificent libraries in Melbourne and Sydney. Attention should also be drawn to the Parliamentary Library at Wellington, which contains nearly 40,000 volumes, and lends books when Parliament is not in session to "respectable persons whose names have been placed on the recess list of borrowers." There are several University Libraries which have special collections suitable for academic purposes. The official returns show that there are 304 libraries in New Zealand, containing 409,604 volumes.

Such, then, is a brief account of the present condition of the chief libraries of Australasia, which, it may be mentioned, are administered by committees consisting of the leading literary men of the Colonies, as well as by a staff of most able, painstaking, and efficient librarians. Before leaving Australasia one word may be said as to the future. Now that the federation of these Colonies is likely to

become an accomplished fact, it is probable that in the near future a large and thoroughly representative National Library will be established in the capital city, wherever that may be. It may not be generally known that the nucleus of a magnificent collection of Australasian literature has already been offered to and accepted by the Premiers of the colonies concerned on behalf of the Federal government. The liberal donor is Mr. E. A. Petherick, who is one of the greatest living authorities upon Australasian literature, and the collection comprehends books, pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts, upwards of 6,000 in number, and forms a library mainly and essentially Australasian in character.

## CANADA.

The Dominion of Canada may be said to have been the first British Colony to establish libraries, for as long ago as 1779 there existed a public circulating library in Quebec, with about 2,000 volumes. Since that date large and valuable collections have been formed in the various Provinces, with the result that at the present time there are about 480 libraries in Canada, distributed under the headings of Legal, Legislative, Public, Collegiate, etc., containing close upon 2,000,000 volumes and pamphlets. Of these by far the largest and most representative is that of the Library of Parliament at Ottawa, containing about 150,000 volumes, and stored in what has been described by a well-known Canadian author, Sir John Bourinot, as an edifice of architectural beauty, but not equal to existing demands. Parliamentary libraries exist in each of the Provinces, the collections varying from a few hundreds, as in British Columbia, to over 70,000 in the province of Ontario, all of which are available to readers provided with an introduction from a member of the legislature. Notable collections are also to be found in the universities and literary societies of Canada, those claiming special attention being the McGill University,



Montreal, the University of Toronto, the Canadian Institute, various geographical societies, the Geological and Natural History Survey, and last, but by no means least, the Library of Laval College, which contains about 100,000 volumes, and has been stated by Mr. James Bain, the Librarian of the Toronto Public Library, to be unrivalled for the extent and character of its French collection and its many scarce books on early Canadian literature and history. It is in the province of Ontario, however, that the library movement has met with the greatest support, for out of the total of 480 libraries in the Dominion, 374 are situated in Ontario, and it was also in this province that the Free Libraries Act, which was passed in 1882, was first adopted. Since that date twelve cities and towns have availed themselves of the Act, and it is anticipated that the movement will rapidly extend to other provinces now that it has proved so successful in Ontario. It may be mentioned, however, that in the province of Quebec the dual language and religion has so far had the effect of preventing united action in passing a Public Library Act such as exists in the province of Ontario. The Toronto Public Library has made good progress since its foundation, and now contains a collection of books numbering over 108,000, which are free for the use of the citizens. Its influence is far-reaching, for in the report for 1898 it is stated that readers are now continually attracted from distant points in the country as well as from the United States to consult its rare books.

In the Maritime Provinces there are forty-four libraries, of which two are free, viz., the Citizen's Free Library in Halifax, Nova Scotia, with about 11,000 volumes, and the Free Library of St. John, New Brunswick, with 10,000 volumes, the latter having been established by the citizens to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the landing of the United Empire Loyalists. There is also in Nova Scotia the Library of King's College, Windsor, which was founded in 1802, and, although not of large size, con-

tains one of the most valuable collections of bibliographical treasures to be found in the Dominion of Canada, including many beautiful specimens of the early printers. In Manitoba and the North-West Territories the library question is now occupying attention, and there are already good collections in the possession of the Literary and Historical Society of Manitoba and the University of Manitoba, as well as in the Law Society of Winnipeg; whilst in British Columbia two free libraries have been established, one in Victoria, the seat of government, and the other in Vancouver.

## AFRICA.

Turning now to our South African possessions, viz., the Cape Colony, Natal, and Rhodesia, we find that the library movement, especially in the Cape Colony, has made considerable progress during recent years. According to the latest official returns, there are at the present time in the Cape Colony 115 libraries, containing 378,059 volumes, and receiving a government grant of £17,483. The public libraries of Cape Town, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth, King Williamstown, Kimberley, East London, Cradock, and Graff-Reinet are the principal institutions in the Colony and receive special grants from government; whilst scattered throughout the Colony are similar institutions supported by subscriptions, together with small annual grants. The South African Public Library at Cape Town has been in existence since the year 1818, and contains 61,821 volumes, embracing every branch of science and literature, as well as three special collections which have been bequeathed to it at various periods of its history, viz., the Dessinian, the Grey, and the Porter collections. The first-named consists mainly of books, with a few manuscripts and paintings, bequeathed to the colony in 1761 by Joachim van Dessin, the number of volumes being about 4,000 in the Latin, French, German, and Dutch languages; the second, or the Grey collection, has attained a world-

wide notoriety, and consists of about 5,000 volumes, together with many valuable manuscripts, mostly on vellum or parchment, some of them belonging to the tenth century ; whilst the third, or Porter collection, consists of standard works purchased out of the funds raised for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of the Hon. William Porter, a prominent Cape politician. In addition to the Public Library at Cape Town, there is a Parliamentary Library containing about 12,000 volumes, and mainly used by members of the legislature. The Kimberley Public Library is a well-organized and excellently managed institution containing 22,000 volumes, a speciality of which is a collection of works relating to mining and mineralogy, geology, and the history, nature, and occurrence of gems and precious stones. This collection, it is stated, has proved of considerable service to residents in the centre of the diamond mining industry. The remaining libraries call for no special comment, unless it be that they are all making steady, if not rapid progress. Away in the north, almost as soon as Bulawayo was laid out as a township, a public library was founded, and it is satisfactory to find that its contents, whilst as yet somewhat limited, are nevertheless highly appreciated by the residents of that portion of Rhodesia.

In Natal there are a large number of societies in the principal towns of the Colony possessing libraries, but none of them of any great size or importance. For instance, in Pietermaritzburg there is the Natal Society, which has a collection of a little over 9,000 volumes, and is supported by private subscriptions and a government as well as a corporation grant. There is, as in other Colonies, a Parliamentary Library in Pietermaritzburg and a so-called public library in Durban, the chief seaport of the Colony, which, however, is very unimportant.

In the country districts such as Ladysmith, Dundee, Newcastle, Verulam, Pinetown, etc., small libraries have been formed, but in no instance is there one outside the two

chief towns which can compare with the smaller libraries of the Cape Colony.

## WEST INDIES.

Throughout the West Indies there are several libraries belonging to learned and agricultural societies, as well as public libraries, in Trinidad, Grenada, Barbados, the Bahamas, and Jamaica. The most important is the last-named, which is known as the Institute of Jamaica, and is supported by a government grant of about £2,000 a year and private subscriptions. It contains about 11,000 volumes of scientific, historic, and general literature, whilst a special feature is a very comprehensive and valuable collection of works relating to Jamaica and the West Indies generally. The Trinidad Public Library is a well-arranged institution which was established in 1851, and contains about 20,000 volumes. The Victoria Institute, which was established to commemorate the Queen's jubilee, was opened in 1892, and is a literary centre in Trinidad which is likely to do good work in the future. In the Bahamas is the Nassau Public Library, containing about 13,000 admirably selected volumes in addition to a good collection of legal works; whilst in British Guiana there is the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society, which possesses a library of about 20,000 volumes, and the Berbice Reading Society with almost 5,000 volumes. The Public Library of Grenada was first established as long ago as 1846, but was reorganized about ten years ago and now occupies a newly-erected and handsome building. It has about 4,000 volumes. There is also in Grenada a law library containing some 500 volumes. In all the West India Colonies there are legislative libraries of more or less importance.

## EASTERN COLONIES.

Turning once again to the East, there are the Colonies of Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, and Mauritius,

in all of which the literary requirements of the people are administered to by good collections of works in the possession of local societies. The libraries of Ceylon number twenty-four, four of which are to be found in Colombo, viz., the Colombo Library, the Museum Library, the Colombo Pettah Library, and the Library of the Ceylon branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the remainder in the smaller towns of the Colony. The majority receive a government grant, which appears very small when compared with the grants made in other Colonies. In the Straits Settlements there are the Raffles Library and that of the Straits branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Singapore, and in other parts of the Colony the Malacca and Penang libraries, both of which are well managed by local committees and supplied with recent literature. With the exception of the Legislative Library in Hong Kong, and a public library situated in the City Hall, there is no other representative institution. In Mauritius there is a public library at Port Louis with a collection of over 12,000 volumes of general literature, as well as several societies which are easily accessible to all persons engaged in literary work.

Having now travelled round the Empire, I would merely state in conclusion that this article is in no way exhaustive, but has been compiled for the purpose of supplying some slight idea of the scope and value of library work in Greater Britain as it at present exists.

JAMES R. BOOSÉ.

## THE OPEN ACCESS QUESTION.

FROM A PUBLIC LIBRARIAN'S POINT OF VIEW.



OPEN access is the Home Rule question of the library world, and, like the Imperial problem, it has provoked much warm discussion without any appearance of terminating in a decision which shall satisfy both sides. The controversy, indeed, may almost be said to have evolved this curious feature—that it appears well-nigh incapable of logical, unbiassed, and generous argument. Not that this impeaches either the skill or the will of those who have ventured into the dialectical fray: that is not suggested. But, as Byron sarcastically reminds us:

Christians have burnt each other, quite persuaded  
That the Apostles would have done as they did;

so the confident enthusiasm of those who have advocated the idea, and that of those who have attacked it, has too often led to statements impossible to prove.

As a matter of fact the only view which it would be safe to hold is that expressed by Mr. Brett, of Cleveland, Ohio, who says ("2nd Int. Lib. Conf. Trans.," 1898, p. 79): "This is a subject upon which not merely divergent but diametrically opposing views are honestly held and earnestly maintained." When, however, Mr. Brett, in spite of a genuine effort to be impartial, proceeds to add that "the open-shelf plan includes all the advantages to the reader which the opposite plan can possibly offer, and adds much of inestimable value to them," he gives us pause. Until the "possibility" of every other plan has been exhausted, this must be regarded as a mere "flower of speech"—a prophecy which time alone can prove. It may also be mentioned as a curious lapse that the writer on this subject

on page 49 of this present volume discusses seven technical objections raised by librarians, "annihilates" them to his own satisfaction, and illogically proceeds to repeat that he is "writing purely from the reader's side of the question: the technical considerations of professional librarians must be dealt with by them." Mr. Moore does himself an injustice. His lucid account of the actual working of open access at Croydon is as able an exposition of the system as one has yet seen; and the arguments supporting it are of weight and value, coming from one of the responsible managers of that flourishing library. But if Mr. Moore's replies are simply those of "the man in the street," the inevitable rejoinder is that the outsider cannot judge of such technical points, and the value of the argument is gone.

At first blush a scheme that provides for the direct admission of the public to the books upon the shelves may seem so obviously the best as to admit of no discussion. It is ideal! There are people who take this view. But there are others who doubt the solidity of its advantages; and its superiority at once becomes a mere matter of opinion. There is also a third class, consisting of those who, perceiving its flaws, fail to appreciate its virtues, and roundly condemn it as costly, cumbersome, and useless. Mr. Moore is, presumably, among the Utopians. I am of those who, whilst fully conscious of the academic beauty of the scheme, have yet to be convinced that it fulfils the somewhat extensive claims made on its behalf.

Open access, as applied to public library work, hails from America; and during the last dozen years or so it has been tried in the United States with varying, though, upon the whole, with decidedly encouraging results. Its introduction into England, and its development into its present scientific form of "safeguarded open access," are both due to the enterprise of Mr. J. D. Brown. In this country, also, its career has been somewhat chequered; and the statement that no library having adopted the safeguarded system has



ever abandoned it can scarcely be taken as absolutely correct.<sup>1</sup> It is a remarkable thing that of those who have put the plan into operation some cannot say enough in its favour, and others can scarcely speak strongly enough against it.

The main arguments in favour of open access may be summed up briefly as follows: (*a*) that the libraries are the property of the public, and that library authorities have no moral right to hinder the public from going to the shelves; (*b*) that the effect of such admission is a public convenience, and tends to educate those who take advantage of it; (*c*) that it is a more economical system than its rivals; (*d*) that it engenders a feeling of proprietorship with its accompanying sense of responsibility; (*e*) that it provides a greater opportunity for the staff to assist the readers; (*f*) that it tends to reduce the percentage of the fiction issue; and (*g*) that it reveals the weak spots of a library, induces suggestions, and thus leads to improvement. These are the objects of every librarian's endeavour—"the greatest good to the greatest possible number"—and if open access achieves them to a greater degree than other methods, one need not call for proof of Mr. Brett's comprehensive claim before giving the system the most cordial support.

Let it be admitted that safeguarded open access is no Quixotic fancy. Accept it as a practical system of library work which has been subjected to an experimental stage of no ordinary rigour. If it has given so large a measure of satisfaction at Clerkenwell and Croydon it must have much

<sup>1</sup> In England the open-access system has been tried and abandoned at Liverpool, Blackburn, Chester, Penge, and other places. After a two-years' experiment the Mercantile Library at Philadelphia was compelled to drop the system. A similar result befell the Bodleian Library (the pity of it!); and the Bishopsgate Institute is about to follow. Theft and disorder are the causes assigned for failure. Is it claimed that none of these, to say nothing of others both here and in the States, were sufficiently safeguarded? Nothing less than proof of this can make the statement good.

that is good about it. If not, it would have gone to the wall ere now. On the other hand, the fact that in other places it has provoked such bitter disapproval is proof presumptive that there is something to be said against it. It cannot but be satisfactory to all unbiassed minds to find that the plan *can* be worked with so much success; yet others have found that it leads: (*a*) to crushing; (*b*) to disorder amongst the books, and sometimes amongst the borrowers; (*c*) to excessive wear and tear of books; (*d*) to loss of space; and (*e*) to theft.

These are the doubts which determine so many library authorities not to commit themselves to the plan when a new library is about to be established. These are positive fears which, coupled with the opinion that it is no better—if no worse—than rival systems, cause so many librarians to view it askance.

It has not yet been demonstrated that open access is the superior convenience that some people would have us believe. That issues go up, and especially where a new central library supplants a more or less inefficient makeshift, is only to be expected. People always will like the larger and newer selection from which to choose. But that all borrowers do not prefer the open-access system is a fact. The few persons known to the writer who borrow from such libraries are agreed in condemning it. They do not grasp the plan of classification. They object to the hustling of unceremonious borrowers, the periodical crowding of the alcoves; and complain that the class-lists in use do not appeal to them so effectively as a complete catalogue would do. But there are exceptions from every rule, and it must not be forgotten that other persons have good reason to complain of the not infrequent crushes before the indicator. In reply to the suggestion that the public at large is clamouring for open access, my own experience (covering the whole period of the experiment) has not brought me into contact with more than half-a-dozen inquirers, and these, singularly enough, have laid

chief stress upon its application to the Reference Library—a department to which the new system is not usually extended even by those who establish it in the lending section.

This suggests the question why both departments should not be treated alike. We are told that "the great safety of the open library lies in the appeal which it makes to the honour of those using it." The police-court experience of London, of Cardiff, and other places, show, alas! that such an appeal is apt to be made in vain. But let that go. We are informed that the new system is at least as economical as the old: therefore the reason cannot be that of expense. As we are assured that personal honour (*plus* the necessary safeguards) protects the integrity of the library, it cannot be that the expensive nature of the works of reference forbids the privilege, else the principle is wrong. To an outsider it really does appear that if open access is suitable to one department it ought to answer for the other. If it is not good enough for both, is it good enough for either? Most public libraries have a few open-access shelves for works of reference, and some—Birmingham and St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, for example—have extended it to a very large degree, but not to the lending department. At the British Museum 20,000 volumes are placed upon open shelves; but these are for students only. No one under twenty-one may pass its portals, and those who are admitted have first to produce some voucher as to trustworthiness. Even then, with all its official and private supervision, it does not altogether escape abuse. Books are carelessly used and sometimes destroyed; occasionally they are illegitimately borrowed, and cases of "annexation" have been known. It is a great shame that the hundredth person should restrict the freedom of the ninety-nine; but until human nature is improved we can hope for nothing better. The Bodleian Library has been compelled to withdraw the open-shelf concession altogether.

That theft and wilful damage have been kept within modest confines is distinctly a feather in the cap of those who have had the actual working of the libraries; but in closed libraries these special forms of peril do not exist. It speaks of very careful precautions and unceasing vigilance. One shudders to contemplate the danger attending any relaxation from this high standard. How it comes that this completeness of supervision can be maintained throughout the day without necessitating a larger staff is a marvel. But extensive thefts *have* occurred at some of these libraries. Are we to assume either that the borrowers at such places were exceptionally depraved, or that sufficient safeguards were not maintained? A real difficulty, it seems to me, arises in the case of branch and other small libraries. At certain hours these are frequently left to one assistant—at meal hours for example. Now it is tolerably certain that an assistant cannot at the same time be admitting and releasing borrowers, advising inquirers, and charging up, and also be maintaining a sufficient surveillance over the alcoves. A very real risk must be run, or more assistance must be supplied. If the latter alternative be adopted, what becomes of the cry of economy? If it is not, such liability is not to be faced with equanimity.

It is seriously argued that the open system really requires little more floor space than the closed. We even hear now that it requires no more space at all! From such conclusions I emphatically differ. In a well-arranged lending library the public space need not be large; and to suggest that the closed library loses in front of the counter an area equal to that required behind it for purposes of free access may be true of certain libraries, but is in principle opposed to mathematics. A 3 feet 6 inch alcove is enough for staff use: twice that, and more, must be allowed for public use if crowding is to be avoided. At least one open-access library reports that in alcoves ranging from 130 to 700 feet square the tendency to

crush is great. If there are many alcoves, or if the alcoves have any length, it will be seen that the area devoted to public traffic must be large. And these alcoves must be arranged to permit of unimpeded oversight. Then, as to height, whilst no one cares for lofty bookcases, circumstances sometimes enforce them. The staff may use ladders, but the public may not. Why not? Because they would assuredly be much in the way, and would almost certainly lead to accidents. It should also be borne in mind that many libraries place little-used books in stores whose miscellaneous character makes the admission of the public inadvisable. Apart from this, few libraries could afford to supervise and safeguard two rooms. When the time for extension arrives some thorny problems will await solution.

In speaking of economy I would first point out that in ordinary libraries only those alcoves which are in constant use are kept lighted during evenings or dull weather. Others have the light switched on as wanted. If open access is in operation every alcove must be thoroughly well lighted, both for public use and supervision, whenever daylight fails.

But the main argument against the supposed economy of the new system is the wear and tear which it imposes upon the books. If the books are much looked at they must inevitably show signs of usage. Modern paper, especially in cheap books, is not notable for its enduring quality. Covers must be rubbed, titles must become indistinct, plates and sections must be loosened, and pages become more or less torn, unless the laws of nature are reversed as a special concession. The last Report of the Bishopsgate Institute shows that 6,028 volumes, equal to 500 a month, needed repairs during the year. No wonder that binding orders from other libraries had to wait whilst this glut was being worked off by those firms who specially cater for public library work. I do not offer this as an average case; but it shows a possibility of

open access; it reveals a danger which ought not to be overlooked.

Of such minor matters as misplacement, damage to fixtures, etc., we need not stay to speak. It were idle to quibble about details which barely touch the merits of the scheme. At the same time it must be pointed out that all library systems provide for suggestions from readers; and that until free-access libraries, as a whole, can show a lower percentage of fiction issue than other libraries its advantages in this particular are speculative. Much can be done at any library by exhibition cases or topical lists, in which fictional works have no place. Too much is probably made of the educational value of permitting the public to rummage the shelves. A considerable proportion of our borrowers are accustomed to obtain their books by messengers. It cannot be denied that many of these are of a calibre to which free access and close classification are a stupefying mystery. For students the idea is admirable; but these are all too few.

Surveying the varying aspects of the question, and rigidly excluding all extraneous considerations, it is clear that unless open access is thoroughly safeguarded it must infallibly lead to anarchy and waste. Nothing could be worse. With sufficient safeguards, which ought not to be obtrusive or otherwise vexatious, and in a building adapted to its peculiar necessities, the plan in many respects is excellent. I am not anxious to condemn it. It *may* be that it is better than the various indicator systems; but, if so, it is strange that so few library authorities—all seeking the public good—have been sufficiently convinced of its superiority to adopt the scheme. I will not dogmatically assert that it is absolutely inferior to the indicator plan. In both the trouble of selecting the book falls upon the borrower. In one the reader goes to the shelf; in the other he goes to the indicator. The opportunities for giving information are the same in either case. But open access entails risks, and in all probability

recurrent expenses, which other systems do not. If public convenience counterbalances these faults, well and good. But it has yet to be shown that borrowers are, as a matter of fact, and apart from all sentiment, better served by going to the shelves than by using a library that is fully and intelligently catalogued. The general sense of librarians agrees that a good general catalogue is preferable to the class-lists which apparently are thought sufficient for open-access libraries. And this view must be strengthened if the catalogues pay due attention to subject-headings and are annotated. This point is strictly cognate to the argument; for the counter-contention to the new scheme is that a properly conducted lending library, using an approved method for the issue of books, and with a judiciously annotated catalogue, gives at least equal satisfaction to its patrons, is safer, cleaner, and less costly than safeguarded open access.

W. E. DOUBLEDAY.

### THE EDINBURGH EDITION OF SIDNEY'S "ARCADIA."



N the year 1598 William Ponsonby, at that time the most important of English publishers, issued a third edition of Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia," of which he held the exclusive copyright.

The new edition was one of the chief issues of that year. The announcement that it had been revised by the Countess of Pembroke gave the text the stamp of correctness, and there was also added to it for the first time sundry other pieces of Sidney's: "The Defence of Poesie," "Astrophel and Stella," some other sonnets, and the May Day masque. Like its immediate predecessor, this third edition of the "Arcadia" was



a folio and a very handsome one. The title-page announced that it was printed for William Ponsonby, but by whom we are left to guess. Fortunately, there are plenty of printers' ornaments about it by which to identify it, notably a certain woodcut block, used as a tailpiece, which we recognize as having at one time been in the possession of Thomas Vautrollier, a printer of Blackfriars. Upon Vautrollier's death his business was taken over by his apprentice, Richard Field, a fellow-townsmen of Shakespeare's, who cut off the letters T. V., which had previously formed part of this block, and continued to use it in all his books until it was worn out. No other printer had a similar block, though some unsuccessful attempts were made to copy it; and the presence of this block in the "Arcadia," as well as of other blocks and initial letters that are found in books printed by Field, make it safe to say that it came from his press.

Of how many copies the edition consisted we do not know; but Ponsonby priced them at nine shillings apiece, which in money of our day would be equivalent to at least three pounds.

On September 1st in the following year, 1599, a certain Rowland White, confidential agent to Robert Sidney, brother of the dead poet, wrote to his patron from London: "The 'Arcadia' is now printed in Scotland, according to the best edition, which will make them good cheap, but is very hurtful to Ponsonbye, who held them at a very high rate. He must sell as other men do, or they will lye upon his hands." This was not idle gossip. Another edition, also calling itself the third, had indeed appeared in the market, and was selling for six shillings a copy. Like Ponsonby's, it was a folio, and it bore upon its title-page the imprint: "Edinburgh. Printed by Robert Waldegrave. Printer to the Kings Majestie, Cum Privilegio Regio, 1599." Ponsonby at once instituted inquiries into this act of piracy and seized all the copies that remained unsold. Later, on November 23rd, he

entered an action in the High Court of Star Chamber against John Legatt, a printer of Cambridge, William Scarlett, a bookbinder in the same town, Richard Banckworth and John Flaskett, citizens and drapers of London, and Paul Lynley and John Harrison the younger, citizens and stationers of London, for having, "since your Majesties last general pardon" (*i.e.*, 1597), printed or caused to be printed "divers of the said books called Arcadia," either at Cambridge, London, or some other place within the kingdom, and also for having put a false imprint on the title-page to the effect that the book was printed in Edinburgh, with the intention of evading the decrees of the Star Chamber concerning unlawful printing.

Some of the documents of this lawsuit are still in existence at the Public Record Office.<sup>1</sup> In addition to Ponsonby's petition just recited, there is the reply of the defendants, which was short and simple. They gave an emphatic denial to the whole charge and threw themselves upon the justice of the court. There is also a list of certain questions put on behalf of Ponsonby to one of the defendants, William Scarlett, and his replies to them. There should be a similar list addressed to Legatt, but these last are, most unfortunately, missing.

The questions put to Scarlett are very interesting, as they show us the line followed by the prosecuting counsel as instructed by Ponsonby. Scarlett was asked whether or not it was by his procurement and at his charge that this Edinburgh edition of "Arcadia" was printed; where it was printed; if in England, whether at Cambridge; if out of England, in what place? Had he sold any copies of the books; if so, how many; and did he know of any others that had sold copies; and how many copies did he suppose had been sold altogether? Were the books wholly printed in Edinburgh, or only partially so; and was not the title-page printed at Cambridge or London?

<sup>1</sup> Star Chamber Proc., Eliz., P. Bun. 5-6.

Did he know when the printing was begun and when it was finished? Was he not sent into Scotland by the other defendants for the express purpose of getting Waldegrave to print this book, and did he not receive a sum of money for his pains? He was pressed to give the names of all those for whom he had acted, the number of copies that were printed, and how and by whom they were brought into England. Finally, Scarlett was asked whether he was his own man, what he was doing for a living, and whom he had served previously.

Scarlett's answers to these questions were provokingly guarded. Most of the insinuations conveyed in them he strongly denied. He declared that he had not been paid by the defendants, or any other stationers in London or elsewhere, to go to Scotland for the purpose of getting Waldegrave to print an edition of the "Arcadia," though he admitted that he was in Edinburgh "this tyme two yere," and that Waldegrave had then told him he intended to print the "Arcadia" "with more additions."

He also admitted having sold twenty copies of the pirated edition, for the use and on behalf of John Legatt, the Cambridge printer, eighteen of which he sold to Banckworth and two to Cuthbert Burby. Another twenty copies, which were in his possession, had been seized by Ponsonby. He had also seen six copies in Legatt's shop at Cambridge. But he knew nothing whatever about the printing, and "verily thought" that the whole book was printed at Edinburgh. Neither could he give any information as to the number of copies printed, nor as to the way in which the books had been smuggled into England, the only thing he could say being that he had heard that John Harrison the younger had brought some of them by sea. To the question of his employment he answered that he had at one time been servant to John Legatt, but was then, *i.e.*, at the time of his examination, acting as butler and caterer to Trinity Hall in Cambridge.

This lawsuit, as usual, dragged on for some considerable time, as Collier, in his researches through the Registers of the Stationers' Company, came upon an entry dated July 21st, 1601, stating that John Harrison the younger had confessed to having had five pounds' worth of Waldegrave's "Arcadia."<sup>1</sup>

Whether the eminent publisher won his case or not can never be known, as all the judgments of the Court of Star Chamber are lost beyond hope of recovery. This is all the more disappointing to me, as my discovery of these documents naturally gave me a new interest in this pirated edition of the "Arcadia." From wondering whether Ponsonby was right in his statement that the title-page was printed at Cambridge, and how much more Scarlett knew than he chose to reveal, I soon found myself instinctively trying the issue afresh by the light of such evidence as remains after the lapse of three hundred years. Here are some of my results.

To begin with, Scarlett's admission that he was in Edinburgh about two years before the date of his examination is worth looking into. These depositions, to use the legal phrase, were taken in "February, 42nd Eliz.," which would mean February, 1600; and therefore the date of Scarlett's visit to Scotland was somewhere about February, 1598. Waldegrave was just then finishing his folio edition of the "Acts of the Parliament of Scotland," the title-page of which is dated March 15th, 1597. In a legal book such as this the legal style, which made the year begin with March 25th, would be adhered to, and consequently March 15th, 1597, would mean March 15th, 1598. As a matter of fact, this is proved, the collection of statutes ending with those made in the fifteenth year of James VI., which began on December 19th, 1597.

Scarlett does not say what took him to Edinburgh, nor give any reason why Waldegrave volunteered the state-

<sup>1</sup> Bibliographical account (vol. ii., p. 349).

ment that he intended to print an edition of the "Arcadia" with more additions. It was certainly a curious speech for the printer to make, seeing that, so far as we know, Ponsonby's edition was not then issued; and beyond trade gossip, such as Scarlett might be expected to carry with him, nobody knew what the additions were that Ponsonby was about to produce.

One thing, however, stands out clearly, that Waldegrave possessed a press and type sufficient to print a book of the size of "Arcadia," and that that press was then, or very shortly afterwards, idle.

Now let us turn to the book itself, and see what can be learned from it. The British Museum has a copy, and there are others at the Bodleian, and Trinity College, Cambridge.

In appearance the Waldegrave edition of the "Arcadia" was very much like its rival, a small folio of 278 leaves, printed throughout in Roman and Italic of various sizes. At the head of the title-page was placed a handsome woodcut ornament, having in the centre a lion rampant upon a shield; while at the beginning of the Dedication was a large woodcut pierced to receive an initial, with figures of a man and woman, and with tufts of thistles in the foreground. The book was numbered by leaves, not by pages. The text and arrangement of the volume were the same as those in Ponsonby's edition, with slight variations in the spelling, and a few printer's errors, such as the omission of signature F f and the wrong numeration of several of the leaves.

Placing the Waldegrave "Arcadia" beside the "Acts of the Parliament of Scotland," which Waldegrave finished printing in March, 1598, there can scarcely be two opinions as to the common origin of both books. Type, ornaments, and initial letters are alike. In both the numeration is by folio; and, more striking still, the methods of signature, of which there are no fewer than three varieties in the "Arcadia," were those which had been used throughout the printing of the "Acts." The only difference be-

tween the books is in the matter of paper ; for, while that used in the "Aets" is fairly uniform in texture, that found in the "Arcadia" is of three distinct kinds, one of them worth special attention. The first kind, with which two-thirds of the book was printed, was an ordinary medium white paper, with a watermark common to many books of that period in England. The second was a thin flimsy material without watermark of any kind, and very badly cut. This was used with the third sort, which was a paper of a totally different make from the other two, being thick and coarse of texture, of a brownish hue, and having as a watermark the letters J. R. C. This third variety began to be used at the end of the book.

It is true that any of these papers might have been in use in several English printing-offices at that time, but it is certainly interesting to find that this third sort was in use in Waldegrave's office in the same year in which this edition of "Arcadia" appeared, his quarto edition of "Hymns or Sacred Songs," 1559, being printed entirely on the paper with the J. R. C. watermark.

The evidence of the book itself, then, taken with Scarlett's statement that so far as he knew it was printed entirely in Edinburgh, seems to prove beyond question that the imprint was genuine, and that Waldegrave put the "Arcadia" in hand when he had finished printing the "Aets of Parliament," and as soon after that as he could obtain a copy of Ponsonby's edition.

This opens up another interesting question. When was Ponsonby's edition published ? There is no entry of the "Arcadia" in the Registers of the Stationers' Company during 1598, for the good reason that Ponsonby, having already published two editions of the work, had no need to register it afresh ; but on October 23rd he entered "Astrophel and Stella," which he would be bound to do, as the copyright had previously been held by Newman. If that entry was concurrent with the publication of the whole work, then Waldegrave could not have begun his Edinburgh

edition much before the end of the year; and as his edition was clearly in the London market in the following August, perhaps earlier, it would leave him only seven or eight months in which to print it, none too much time even in a well-equipped office. If, however, the entry of "Astrophel and Stella" was not made until some time after the publication of the whole book, the prompt appearance of Waldegrave's edition is more easily understood.

What reasons led Ponsonby to suppose that the book was partially printed in England there is no evidence to show, but in all probability his belief had no stronger foundation than trade gossip. He was on much surer ground in the other counts of his indictment.

It cannot be conceived that Waldegrave would have undertaken a work of this size, involving a heavy outlay in type, paper, and wages to workmen, with very little hope of a large sale in Scotland, on the mere chance of selling enough copies in England to recoup him, more especially as he would know that he ran the risk of having the impression seized. But when he found a certain number of booksellers in England willing to take a large number of copies off his hands, the matter bore a different complexion. That the book was a privileged one, and that the copyright belonged to a prominent member of the Stationers' Company, would not be likely to trouble Waldegrave much. The English law could not touch him, and he had no cause to love the great London company. His connection with the Martin Marprelate controversy is too well known to need repetition here, and it may well be that the memory of his treatment at the Company's hands made him the more ready to print a pirated edition of a privileged book.

John Legatt was another thorn in the side of the Company. He had been appointed printer to the University of Cambridge upon the death of Thomas Thomas, and between the two Universities and the Company of Stationers there was long-standing hostility. The Cambridge printers



were more particularly singled out for attack. In 1583 the Chancellor appealed to Lord Burghley on behalf of Thomas, whose press had been seized and his trade hindered by order of the Wardens of the Company. In 1588 fresh complaint was made that the London men had endeavoured to prevent the printing of Thomas's Dictionary as an infringement of their monopoly; and in 1591 a third appeal was made to Lord Burghley on behalf of Legatt, whom the Company desired to have suspended on the ground that he had printed the "Psalms in metre," which was their exclusive privilege. The quarrel continued to rage for some time after the accession of James I.

It is clear from Scarlett's evidence that Legatt's name was prominently mixed up with this piracy of Ponsonby's book, and it is perhaps only natural that Ponsonby should have believed the story, which attributed the printing of the title-page to him, seeing that he was an active agent in disposing of the copies.

The remaining defendants, Richard Banckworth, John Flaskett, Paul Lynley, and John Harrison the younger, were all of them booksellers; but the first two were freemen of the Company of Drapers, and not of the Stationers. This was another grievance with the Stationers. They viewed the encroachment of men of other crafts upon the bookselling trade with the utmost jealousy. Of Richard Banckworth not much is known. His initials, R. B., occur in a large number of books printed during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, notably on one or two editions of Shakespeare, and he was evidently in a good way of business.

John Flaskett and Paul Lynley were in partnership. They took over the business of Thomas Woodcock, at the "Black Raven" in St. Paul's Churchyard, in 1596. A Thomas Flaskett, his father perhaps, is mentioned in the wills of Anthony Kitson and John Wright, two eminent booksellers in the same neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup> Paul Lynley had

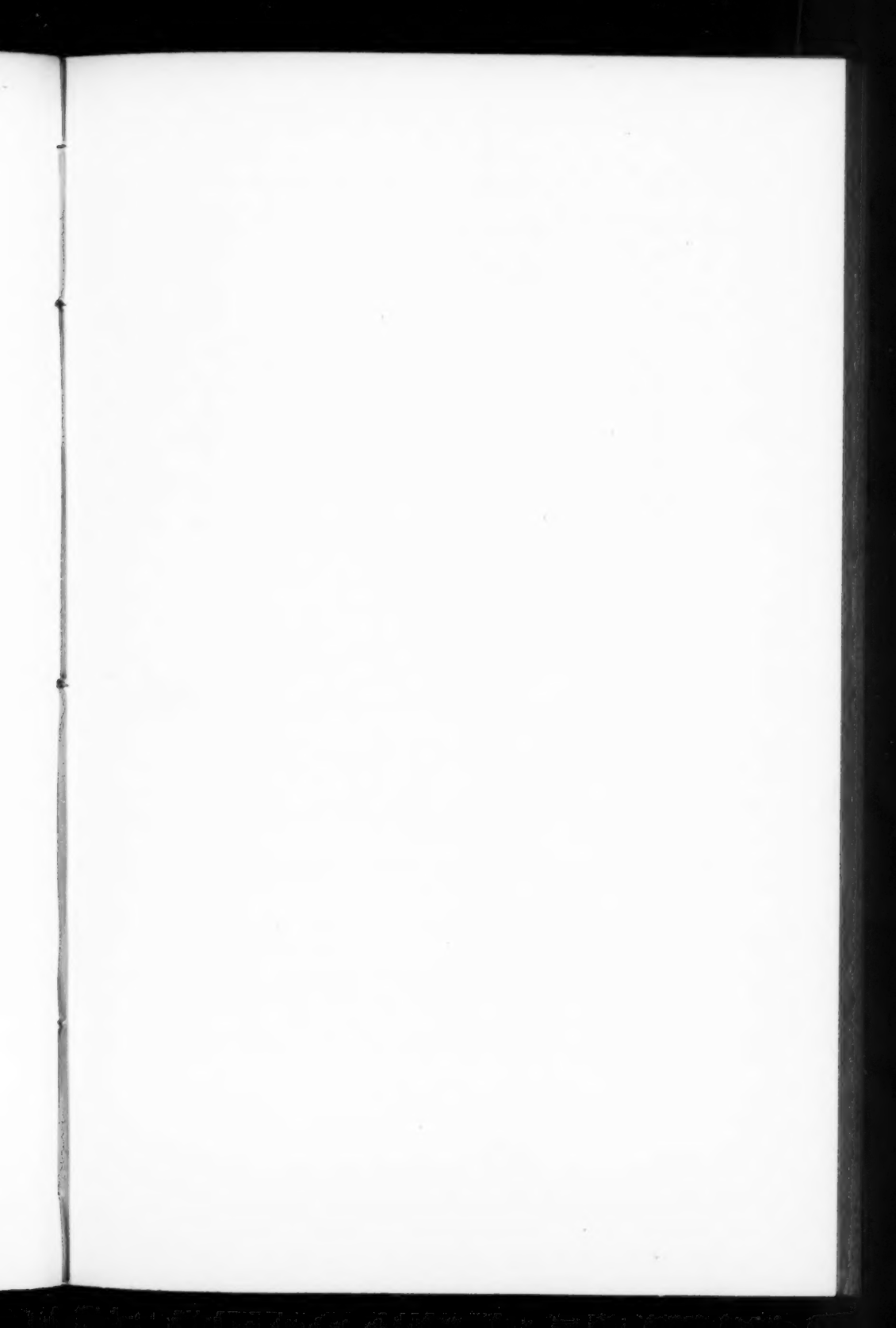
been one of Ponsonby's apprentices, and, on setting up with Flaskett, soon secured an aristocratic connection, among his customers being the Earl of Northumberland.

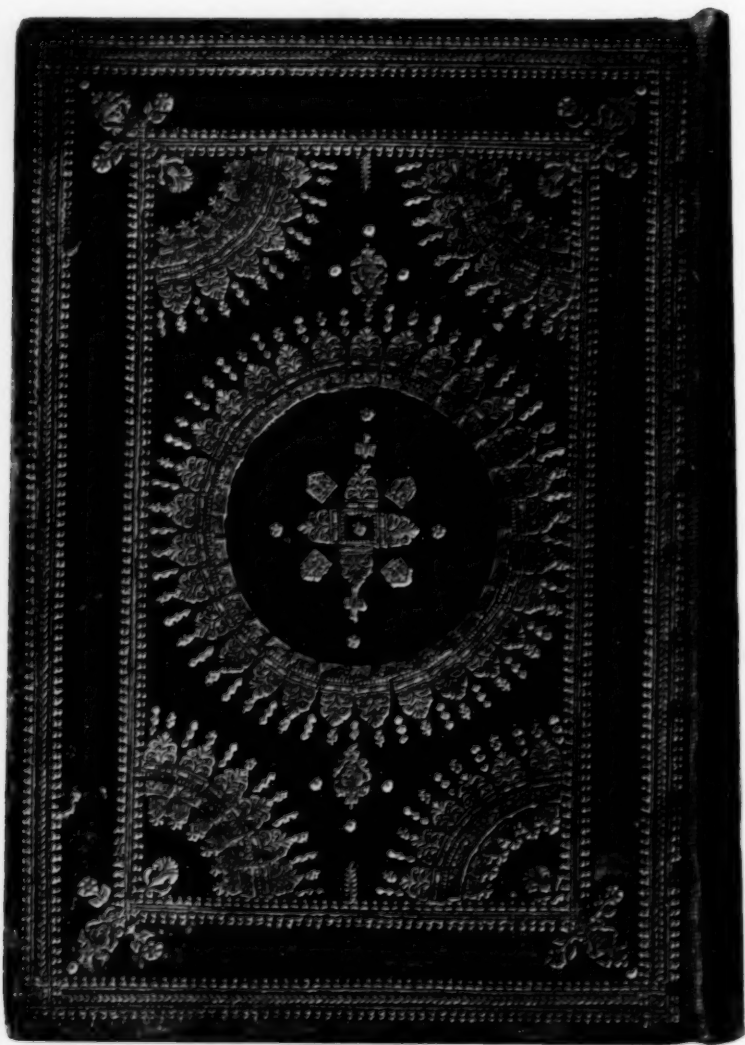
John Harrison the younger was for some time a troublesome member of the Stationers' Company. He was one of those who in 1585 sold pirated copies of John Day's "Psalms of David" and "A. B. C. with the lytell Catechisme,"<sup>1</sup> and on various other occasions he was fined for breaking the rules of the Company. His tardy confession in this instance was probably well below the mark, and was perhaps prompted by other motives than a desire to assist justice. It does not seem to have been followed by any punishment—indeed such little matters were no bar to a man's preferment—and John Harrison the younger rose in due course to be a Warden of the Company. His shop was in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Such were the chief men against whom Ponsonby claimed the protection of the Court of Star Chamber. In each of their shops he had discovered a stock of the pirated edition of "Arcadia," and at first sight it looks as though it was mainly upon this fact that he based his charge. But it must be remembered that he had at his back all the powerful machinery of the Company, and may have learned from his agents enough to convince him of their complicity. Nor was there anything out of the way in the suggestion that these men had taken shares in the venture, as it was quite a common thing at that time for several booksellers to share the risk in the publication of large books. Clearly William Scarlett was a man of straw, and, in spite of his denial, probably Ponsonby was not far wrong in his belief that Scarlett was sent to Scotland by the other defendants for the purpose of arranging matters with Waldegrave.

Ponsonby no doubt suffered heavily by this piracy; but his prompt and vigorous action must have ruined the

<sup>1</sup> Arber's "Transcripts," vol. ii., pp. 791, 792.





BINDING OF A BIBLE, CAMBRIDGE, 1629.

"speculation," and entailed a far greater loss on those who had embarked in it.

Since writing the above I have come across a report of a copyright trial between Andrew Millar and Robert Taylor with respect to the printing of an edition of Thomson's "Seasons." The report is called "The Question concerning Literary Property" (London, 1773, 4to), and this passage occurs in it, p. 13: "No Case of a Prosecution in the Star Chamber, for printing without Licence, or Against Letters Patent, or pirating another Man's Copy, or any other disorderly printing, has been found. Most of the Judicial Proceedings of the Star Chamber are lost or destroyed." The learned counsel had clearly made an insufficient search, though, as it is true that the Judgments of the Court are all lost, the documents which I have now unearthed would not have helped him much.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

### THREE RECENTLY DISCOVERED BINDINGS WITH LITTLE GIDDING STAMPS.



IN 1895, in "Bibliographica," I gave some account of the then known bindings which had been made at Little Gidding before its partial demolition in 1647. Of these bindings, all of which are very interesting, the most remarkable and beautiful are those bound in gold and stamped in gold and silver.

Of absolutely certain Little Gidding workmanship of this kind there now exist only four known examples. The first, undated, is the property of Captain Gaussen; the second, also undated, is in Lord Salisbury's library at Hatfield; the third, dated 1640, was made for Archbishop

Laud, and is kept at St. John's College, Cambridge; the fourth belongs to Lord Normanton, and is at Somerley.

These volumes are all very large, and contain curiously compiled harmonies of parts of the Bible laboriously collected together and pasted down side by side. The bindings are decorated, as to their general design, on a uniform plan—namely, a circular centre ornament with quarter-circles of the same stamps in each corner of the boards.

But besides these four harmonies, I drew attention in the same paper to two printed books, the bindings of which, in gilded and silvered velvet, nearly resemble them. One of these is a copy of a "Notitia Dignitatum," printed at Lyons in 1608, the other an edition of Mercator's Atlas printed at Amsterdam in 1613. Both these volumes are in the British Museum, forming part of the Old Royal Library of England, and belonged originally to Charles I. I put forward the theory, which up to the present has not been adversely criticised, that both these books, even if not entirely bound there, had at all events been re-covered at Little Gidding. Now another book has been found which resembles these two last in all important and distinctive particulars.

### I.

Last November Major E. Montagu-Stuart-Wortley brought for my inspection a fine copy of the Authorized Version of the Bible printed at Cambridge by Tho. & John Buck in 1629. This volume is bound in green velvet and stamped in gold with Little Gidding stamps. In "Bibliographica" I showed that, in all probability, the brothers Buck were the binders whom Nicholas Ferrar employed to teach bookbinding to his nieces, and that they brought several copies of their own stamps for Little Gidding use. Indeed, if these three books had been bound in leather instead of in velvet, the presumption that they were bound by Buck of Cambridge would be as strong as that attributing them to

Little Gidding. But stamped velvet was certainly a speciality of Little Gidding work, and in the absence of evidence as to the use of these stamps on velvet bindings elsewhere, it is with Little Gidding that the Bible must be connected. Until the book was brought to the British Museum, no theory of such a provenance had been started; but it is curious to note that, as Major Stuart-Wortley tells me, there is a tradition in his family that it formerly belonged to Charles I., whose interest in Little Gidding is well known.

The binding, here shown in our plate, measures  $13 \times 9\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and is in fair preservation, though it has evidently been well used, the green velvet being much worn in places. It is richly tooled in gold, and has remains of two tie ribbons on the front edges of each board. In the centre is a circle formed by successive impressions of a small curved stamp in the form of a coronet, often found on Little Gidding books, and a larger stamp of a symmetrical pointed arabesque figure; the spaces between the outer points of the circle are filled with small fleurons. Within the circle is a star formed of four impressions of the arabesque stamp, the spaces between the points being in this instance filled by impressions of an angular-topped stamp often used at Little Gidding; the upper and lower arms of the star are finished off with a stamp of a small bird with outstretched wings. Above and below the circle occurs a remarkable stamp, hitherto unknown to me; it consists of a skull surmounted by a winged hour-glass, and resting in a symmetrical floral scroll. The four inner corners of a rectangular panel parallel to the edges of the boards are ornamented with quarter-circles made with the same stamps as those used in the centre, having, however, along their inner edges, additional impressions of a stamp with three arches, a little bird in each. This last is a well-known Little Gidding stamp.

The skull and hour-glass occur again at the outer corners of the panel in combination with a floral stamp,



and again in the back. The lines used to mark the panels and borders are made with a roll of small diamonds frequently occurring in Little Gidding work.

The edges are much worn, but were originally gilded. Traces are left of ornamental stamping upon them with selections from the same stamps as those used on the sides of the book. These designs have been here and there further emphasized by the addition of a dull red colour. This ornamentation closely agrees with that on the edges of the "Notitia Dignitatum" and the "Mercator's Atlas" already mentioned.

## II.

At the end of the "Life of Nicholas Ferrar," by Dr. Jebb, published at Cambridge in 1855, is a note in which he says he has seen a copy of the *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική* belonging to the Rev. T. H. Tooke, of Upton, near Slough.

Mr. Tooke left this book to his daughter, now Mrs. Skrine, of Glenalmond, Perth, who allowed me to examine it, and to have it photographed for Miss Cruwys Sharland, for her very interesting "Story Books of Little Gidding."<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Skrine tells me that this little book was found by her father in an old inlaid cabinet which was part of the furniture of a house called "Elmstead," near Chiselhurst, which he purchased about 1846. There was no history with it, but Mrs. Skrine thinks the name of the former owner of the property was Fitzgerald. There is not the least doubt that the book was bound by Mary Collet, and it is therefore most valuable as affording a certain test of her later style of work, always small.

The copy of the *Εἰκὼν*<sup>2</sup> is a duodecimo, printed in 1649, and on the fly-leaf is a note as follows:

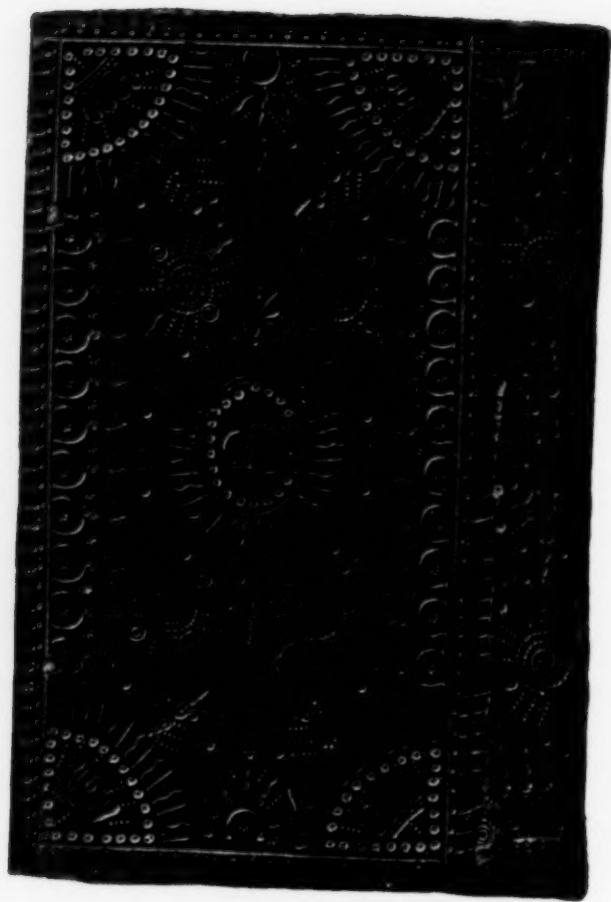
"This book was bound at litle Giding in Huntingtonshire by y<sup>e</sup> much celebrated M<sup>rs</sup> Mary Colet, y<sup>e</sup> beloved

<sup>1</sup> Seeley and Co. Miss Sharland has very kindly allowed me to use her photograph for the purpose of illustrating this paper.

<sup>2</sup> No. 41 in Mr. Almack's "History of the King's Book."

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BINDING OF AN Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, 1649.

WITH LITTLE GIDDING STAMPS. 209

necce of y<sup>e</sup> famous M<sup>r</sup> Nicolas Farar, who honour'd her with y<sup>e</sup> title of y<sup>e</sup> Chief of his most pious Society.

"I leave y<sup>e</sup> Book as a valuable jewel to my son, who in his childhood was very deare to y<sup>e</sup> S<sup>t</sup> who presented me y<sup>e</sup> book & who bound it w<sup>th</sup> her own hands.

"ANNE GRIGG.

"March, 1678."

It is sewn on four bands of white leather, with black silk headbands. It has book-markers, of black and white silk, and marbled end-papers, and measures about  $5\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{4}$  inches.

The binding is in citron morocco, gold tooled. In the centre is an oval of rays, alternately straight and wavy: this stamp occurs in the binding of 1635 made for Charles I.: within the oval are the initials "C. R." The inner corners of a one-line rectangular panel drawn near the edges of the boards are filled with quarter-circles of the same flames, within which is in each case an impression of the small curved coronet stamp used on the 1635 Concordance, on Major Stuart-Wortley's book, and many others. The long inner edges of the parallelogram are curiously marked with a row of C's, each ornamented with a small flower within and an ermine spot without. The remainder of the field is dotted about with various small stamps, among which are dotted rays and a small dotted spiral. On the 1635 Harmony are spirals, but they are plain, and the idea of using a dotted or *pointillé* curve is commonly supposed to have been originally hit upon by Le Garçon, the great French binder. Possibly Mary Collet may have seen one of his bindings; at any rate the spiral here, as well as the rays, is *pointillé*.

The back is flat and very tastefully ornamented with two of the coronet stamps and two of the dotted curves, having between them an ornamental design made up of several of the smaller stamps.

All the stamps are irregularly outlined with a series of

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small black dots put on by hand—possibly with ink. The same black finishing is found in most of the centres of rows and dots, as well as on some of the petals, and there are the remains of two white silk ties on each board.

The edges are simply gilded.

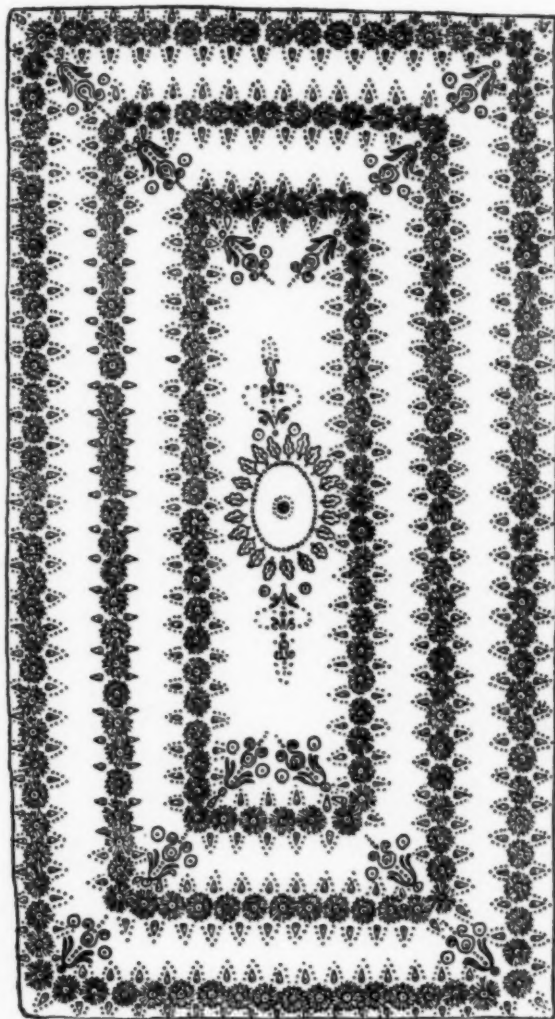
### III.

Last December Mr. Edward Almack brought to me a small book bound in an exactly similar way to the *ΕΙΧΩΝ* I have just described. There was the same yellow leather, similar tooling, though not of the "circular design" type, and, above all, the characteristic small black dotted work round the gold stamping. It is a copy, in excellent condition, of George Herbert's "Temple" printed at Cambridge in 1641, and measures about  $3 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

I at once said that it appeared to be late work of Mary Collet, the belief which Mr. Almack had in his mind when he bought the book—and further examination strengthens this attribution.

George Herbert's work is likely enough to have been especially chosen by Mary Collet for the exercise of her skill in binding, as her uncle Nicholas Ferrar and George Herbert were fast friends—indeed, the literary care of "The Temple" was actually bequeathed by Herbert to Ferrar.

The design on the cover resembles that on "The History of the Israelites . . . collected out of the bookes of Kings and Chronicles," now at the British Museum. It is a nest or succession of parallelograms arranged from the outer edges of the boards inwards. On the Museum book there are eight of these parallelograms marked by lines only; but in Mr. Almack's book there are only three, made up, however, of rows of a small stamp of a cornflower, with drop-shaped stamps between each. At each of the twelve inner corners of the parallelograms is



BINDING OF A COPY OF HERBERT'S "TEMPLE." CAMBRIDGE, 1641.

an arabesque stamp with spangles, and in the centre an upright oval, outlined by a leaf stamp, lengthened by two arabesques with spangles. The flower, spangle, and leaf stamps have their centres in all cases marked with black, and rows of black dots are drawn round many of the stamps. The back is flat and charmingly ornamented with a repetition of the centre group of stamps, above and below which are three rows of the cornflower stamp.

The edges of the boards are stamped with a six-pointed star; there are marbled end-papers, and the volume is well sewn on flat leather bands, and has gilt edges.

Major Stuart-Wortley's book simply adds one more specimen to an already known series of bindings made either at Little Gidding or at Cambridge about 1640-7, the probability of their origin from Little Gidding being the greater; but Mr. Almack's book shows more than this. On the authority of Mrs. Skrine's *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική* it is an undoubted piece of Mary Collet's work of about 1649 or a little later, and the identity of the manner of work on both these charming little volumes gives us a new school of binding to admire and to look for. It may be hoped that more examples exist unrecognized, and that, if any such pieces of work come under the notice of any of the readers of "The Library," they will let me know, as there is as yet no specimen of the kind in the British Museum.

CYRIL DAVENPORT.



## NOTES ON BOOKS AND WORK.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY AND LIBRARY WORK.



**D**URING the last two months two new societies have come into existence, both of them strictly limited as to membership, Mr. Gordon Duff of the John Rylands Library being Hon. Treasurer of the one and Hon. Secretary of the other. The "Type Facsimile Society," of which he is Treasurer, has Mr. Robert Proctor as its Secretary and Editor-in-chief, and has been formed for printing collotype facsimiles of interesting fifteenth-century types not yet reproduced. The society is restricted to fifty members paying one pound a year each, and its roll was fully made up within a few days of the appearance of its prospectus. Would-be subscribers who applied too late may console themselves with the news that Dr. Konrad Burger's splendid series of facsimiles, "*Monumenta Germaniæ et Italiæ Typographica*," printed with the well-known excellence of the Berlin Imperial Press, has now been resumed and will speedily be carried to completion.

The other new society mentioned above is a Manchester Bibliographical Society, on the lines of that of Edinburgh, with which Mr. Duff has long been connected. With the Chetham Library, the John Rylands Library, the Christie Library at Owen's College, and an old-established and flourishing Public Library, Manchester has many sources of bibliographical enthusiasm, and the success of the new society is assured from the start.

While these new societies are being formed the Bibliographical Society, which is restricted to no one locality and no one subdivision of work, plods happily on its way. Mr. MacFarlane's illustrated monograph on Antoine Vêrard is nearly completed, Mr. Proctor's on Greek

Printing in the fifteenth century is ready for the printer; and during the present month there will be issued a work of considerable literary importance, a list of English Plays written before the closing of the theatres in 1642 and printed before the end of the seventeenth century. This was offered to the Society last June by Mr. W. W. Greg of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the form of a "one-line" list, similar to the Society's "Handlist of English Printers," but with Mr. Greg's permission has been expanded by Mr. H. R. Plomer so as to give full titles. In its enlarged form it has been re-edited by Mr. Greg, and will form by far the most complete record of the "Elizabethan" drama which has yet been compiled.

Mr. Plomer, meanwhile, has not been idle on his own account. His "Brief History of English Printing" from Caxton to William Morris is now only waiting for proofs of the index, and his article on the Edinburgh edition of Sydney's "Arcadia" in our present number is an admirable example of the bibliographical record-hunting of which he has made a specialty. It is good news that he has recently obtained permission to search the Corporation Records, from which he can hardly fail to obtain some new information. Even these, however, are not likely to prove quite so prolific a hunting-ground as Mr. E. J. L. Scott has found in the muniment room of Westminster Abbey, whose thousands of documents he is patiently arranging and cataloguing. Last month Mr. Scott surpassed all his previous achievements, for in two successive numbers of "The Athenæum" he first (through Professor Skeat) set at rest the long-vexed question of the relation of Thomas Chaucer to the poet, now proved to be his father, and next gave us a fixed date (Michaelmas, 1476) for Caxton's taking his shop in the Sanctuary at Westminster, and provided Wynkyn de Worde with the Christian name of John or Jan. The rent paid by Caxton and Wynkyn for the shop was ten shillings, and apparently this was thought high; for after Wynkyn gave it up, at Michaelmas, 1499,

it stood empty for at least two years, the sacrist mournfully recording in his account-book "*nil hoc anno quia vacabat.*"

Turning to library matters, perhaps the most interesting publication which the next few weeks are likely to bring with them is that of the revised "*Rules of Cataloguing*," which by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum will soon be available for purchasers. It may be hoped that "*The Library*" will be able to persuade some eminent and impartial specialist to criticise the revised rules in its next number: meanwhile a writer who is precluded from criticising them may usefully note that the chief point about the rules is that they are not new. To propose new rules of cataloguing for a library of the size and the age of that of the British Museum would be little less adventurous than to try to rearrange the New Forest, and, save for the much greater variety of form now given to cross-references, there are no essential innovations on the famous Ninety-one Rules drawn up in 1839 by Panizzi, Watts, Winter Jones, Edward Edwards, and J. H. Parry.

In place of a list of books, readers this quarter are offered the following review of the *Catalogue of Incunabula* at Grenoble from the pen of Mr. Proctor, who visited the library last year.

A. W. POLLARD.

### INCUNABULA AT GRENOBLE.



THE catalogue of the incunables of the municipal library of Grenoble, which has just appeared, is a work of more than ordinary interest. This famous library, which architecturally is one of the most imposing in Europe, possesses, in M. Edmond Maignien, the compiler of this catalogue, a librarian whose in-

telligent enthusiam leaves nothing to be desired. Resembling in outward form the catalogue of the incunables in the Mazarine Library, his catalogue is in no other respect in the same category as that unfortunate publication. M. Maignien, it is true, is not an expert in early printing, but the thoroughness and patient care which he has lavished on his descriptions are far better than expert knowledge combined with slovenly execution. The early printed books at Grenoble are exceptionally interesting, both on account of the numerous individual books which deserve attention, and also collectively, because the great majority of the volumes once formed part of the library of the Grande Chartreuse, and were almost without exception given to the monastery by two Carthusian collectors, Lorenz Blumenau and François Dupuy, the latter of whom died in 1521. From Dupuy come no fewer than 210 incunables, all in the original bindings, made in the monastery, and strengthened by vellum documents relating to members of the order.

Among separate books the place of honour belongs to the "Catholicon" of 1460, once the property of Blumenau; not, however, so much for its own sake as for its binding, which must be considered one of the very finest fifteenth-century bindings in existence. The upper and lower covers are strikingly different, but both extremely beautiful. The upper cover is cut in a single very large panel, of which the ground is roughened, while the designs stand out in relief on the smooth leather. The panel consists of two parts; a broad outer border with a design of branches and flowers along the sides, while at the top are a bear and a lion facing each other, and at the foot two dragons in similar positions. The inner part of the panel is divided into six circular compartments by interlaced branches, the spandrels being filled with rosettes, leaves, and acorns. In each circle is an animal; a doe and stag at the top, in the centre two apes, and at the bottom an ibex and an unicorn. The lower cover is decorated with small stamps; an oblong panel in the centre is completely

filled with diamond-shaped stamps representing the imperial eagle, a dragon, and an unicorn; above and below these is a row of square stamps (gryphons); while a triple border runs round, the inner containing large rose stamps, the middle small diamonds, set far apart, and the outer being a continuous pattern of leaf and scroll work.

In books printed at or relating to Grenoble, the library is very rich. It possesses a copy of the first book printed in that city, the "Decisiones" of Guido Papa, which is dated April 29th, 1490, and is the only known book of its printer, Etienne Foreti. Though its rarity is extreme, it is not so great as that of the second book printed at Grenoble, the Missal of the use of the diocese, of which the only known copy is in M. Maignien's charge. The printer of this missal, Jean Belot of Rouen, made only a short stay in Grenoble. After finishing this one book on May 20th, 1497, he went on to Geneva, where he established himself for some years. Two other books are attributed by M. Maignien to Belot's press, either at Grenoble or Geneva. One is the "Statuta Synodalia nouae episcopatus Gratianopolitanae," sanctioned on May 13th, 1495; the other is a book of Hours, of which fragments only remain. These fragments, discovered by M. Maignien in a binding, include the title-page, the wording of which is complete except for the one word of importance, giving the use to which the book belongs. M. Maignien believes the book to be for the diocese of Tarentaise; I do not think myself that there was room for so long a word as "tarentasiensem" on the title-page; it may possibly have been "romanum"; but the calendar certainly belongs to south France. In any case, the liturgical question is not the one to be discussed here. I cannot, however, believe that these two books were produced at any press hitherto known, either in Grenoble or Geneva. They are clearly connected by the presence in both of a woodcut of Our Lady on the crescent moon; the types of the two are entirely different. But they raise some curious questions.

For the type of the "Statuta," which cannot, as has been said, be earlier than May, 1495, is identical with the larger type of a "Liber Alexandri de praeliis" (Hain, 781), without place or name of printer, but dated November 16th, 1490. This gap of five years is certainly puzzling. Again, the type of the "Horae" is identical with that of a "Missale secundum usum Romanum" (Hain, \*11399), dated September 11th, 1492, but also without mention of place or printer. It may be that the Missal and Hours come between the "Alexander" and the "Statuta," but that is not much help. Two things, however, are clear; that all four books must be assigned to a press in south-east France or Savoy, and that the dates do not support an ascription to Belot at any period of his career.

Two tract volumes, containing pieces of remarkable curiosity, may be next mentioned. One of these contains the following, which may be classed as glorified chap-books: "Les proverbes communs," sixteen leaves, in the type of Topié and Jacobus of Herrnberg, the Lyonnese printers of the French Breidenbach of 1488, with a fine L on the title-page; "Les faintises du monde," by Guillaume Alexis, eighteen leaves, and "Supplicacion a nostre dame faite par maistre pierre de uesson," six leaves; both these are printed by Guillaume Le Roy at Lyon, and have woodcuts; the first occurs in an earlier state in the "Livre des bonnes mœurs" of the same printer, the second represents Our Lady on the crescent. In the same volume are three curious tracts printed by Pierre Le Caron at Paris. The first relates to the arrangements for the burial of Charles VIII. in 1497; the second is entitled "Lepitaphe du Roy Charles huytiesme," and has at the end a play on the word "sept" and "sait" which is worth quoting:

Leure du soleil des iours	} vii.
En aueil lan nonante et	
Roy charles est mort chascun le	
Lan de son regne deux fois	
Et de son aage vingt et	

The third tract printed by Le Caron is a very interesting one: "Les rues et les eglises de la ville de paris, avec la despense qui se fait par chascun iour"; a sort of "Mirabilia Parisius." Still, in the same volume, but by a different (Paris) printer, is an account of the coronation of Louis XII. at Reims in May, 1498. This astonishing volume is still in its original binding of the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The second tract volume contains, together with the "Albertanus" printed by G. Le Roy, three books from the press of Johannes Solidi at Vienne, all of surpassing rarity. They are: (1) Albertus Magnus, "philosophia pauperum"; (2) "Aristotelis liber de gubernatione rei domesticae"; and (3) "Pamphilus de amore." Besides these, the library possesses two different editions of the "Statuta Viennensia," one of which at least was printed in 1478; both are in the Frommolt type, of which I have written elsewhere. Hitherto the second of these editions was unknown, and this copy at Grenoble is additionally important from the fact that it contains a ms. note enumerating the masses to be sung for the repose of the soul of Solidi. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility of the edition being the work of his successor, if Frommolt was such; but it seems that the earlier edition must be the work of Solidi himself. Another Vienne printer, Peter Schenck, is represented by fragments of a "Vie de Notre Seigneur," which is otherwise unknown.

M. Maignien has the honour of having added to the number of places where printing is known to have been carried on in the fifteenth century, by the discovery of a book (a Prognostication for the years 1495 to 1500, by Antonio Manilio) which was printed at Cesena on March 26th, 1495, by Paulus Guarinus de Guarinis and Joannes Jacobus de Benedictis, less than a month before they issued the first book from their press at Forli (April 16th).

Finally, I may mention, as notable possessions of the



Grenoble Library, copies of the first book printed at Lyon, the "*Lotharius de miseria uitae humanae*" (1473); three books printed at Albi by Neumeister; two editions of Vergil unknown to Dr. Copinger, a *Georgics* printed at Lyon by Antoine Lambillon, December 14th, 1493, and a *Bucolics* also printed at Lyon, but without imprint or date; "*Van dogheden vnde van guden & eden secht dyt boek*" (Hain, 4898), printed at Lübeck about 1497, the Heber copy (only one other is said to be known); "*Le livre de cuisine nommé Taillevent*," by Guillaume Tirel, probably printed at Lyon towards the end of the fifteenth century; and "*Jac. Publicius, de arte memoriae*," possibly one of the first books printed at Angers.

R. PROCTOR.

#### AMERICAN NOTES.

**T**HE appointment of Mr. Herbert Putnam as Librarian of Congress was confirmed by the United States Senate, December 12th, 1899. The wisdom shown by President McKinley in Mr. Putnam's appointment is abundantly justified by the character of his report as Librarian of Congress, submitted to that body December 4th. It outlines a comprehensive plan for the development of the library, which, if upheld by adequate appropriations, will make it a national library of which we may all be proud, and with which foreign institutions may advantageously co-operate.

Mr. James Lyman Whitney has been appointed Librarian of the Boston Public Library to succeed Mr. Putnam. Mr. Whitney has been connected with the institution since 1869, and as head of the catalogue department has shown the scholarly and personal qualifications which fit him to carry out the plans inaugurated by his predecessor. Mr. Whitney

belongs to a family intimately connected with University life. His brother, William Dwight Whitney, a distinguished philologist and late professor of Sanskrit literature at Yale University, is probably the member of it most widely known.

An important event is the resignation of Melvil Dewey as Secretary of the University of the State of New York, which took effect January 1st, 1900, after eleven years of service. This resignation relieves Mr. Dewey of a heavy burden of duties as executive officer of the University, which is not a teaching body, but a State department in charge of higher education. It thus sets free his unbounded vitality and fertility of mind, to be expended solely for the library interests of the State.

In "American Notes" I should like, if it is possible, to give to English librarians the vivid conception of library conditions and progress in this country which we should be glad to have of English conditions, and this can best be done by emphasizing certain marked tendencies in our library thought and practice, rather than by a formal statement.

The article entitled "The New Novel Problem and its Solution," which appeared in the last number of "The Library" (December, 1899, page 92), is a spirited account of one of our very newest schemes. It describes an attempt made by the St. Louis Public Library to supply the demand for novels which are merely the rage of the hour, without diminishing unduly the purchase of books having a more serious and lasting value. The library maintains a department of duplicate fiction from which books are rented to readers at five cents a volume, the proceeds being used to buy more duplicates. The collection thus perpetuates itself and relieves the library book-fund of a heavy drain. Mr. Crunden closes his article by saying: "The plan is about to be tried by another of the large public libraries of the country." Since the article was written the plan has been actually adopted by the Public Library of the District

of Columbia in Washington, and the Pratt Institute Free Library, Brooklyn, N.Y., and it is very likely to be tried shortly in many other free libraries.

This rapid adoption of a new idea well illustrates the readiness to accept suggestions and the "aliveness" characteristic of the American librarian. He is not only friendly to a new idea sanctioned by the practice of a successful institution, but is always on the alert to respond to the suggestions of every "live" library. It is for this reason that enthusiastic reports of "the way we do in our library," rather than formal papers, are the distinctive feature of the sessions of the American Library Association. The librarian goes to his annual meeting with the definite aim of getting new ideas for use in his own library, to find if any of his associates have succeeded in reaching a satisfactory solution for some of his own perplexing problems, or to test some proposed plan by submitting it to the practical judgment of his fellows. Of course I would not be understood to imply that a new plan is likely to be adopted simply because it is new, without regard to its merit; but rather that there is absolutely no prejudice against what is novel and untried. Every new thought advanced by a fairly competent authority is hospitably entertained. An unusual generosity in giving credit to others is also to be observed, but in the constant give and take of suggestion it is almost impossible for the real author of an advanced method to distinguish between the results of his own originality and the corrections of other minds.

While thus trying to give due credit to our librarians for remarkable *esprit de corps*, I would not make them out to be saints. There is the natural rivalry between individuals and institutions, and a curious sensitiveness, which never reaches antagonism, between the East and the West; but these are held in check by the genuine friendships which are the fruit of frequent meetings, national, state, and local.

An illustration of the open-mindedness of our authorities

on cataloguing is seen in the rules for entry of pseudonyms. In the first edition of "Rules for a Dictionary Catalogue," by C. A. Cutter, 1876, we have the direct, unequivocal rule without exceptions: "Enter pseudonymous works under the author's real name when it is known, with a reference from the pseudonym" (page 18). In the second edition, 1889, Mr. Cutter both leads and expresses the judgment of cataloguers by this rule: "Enter pseudonymous works generally under the author's real name when it is known, with a reference from the pseudonym; but make the entry under the pseudonym with a reference from the real name, when the writer is better known by the false name." His interpretation of the rule is equally significant. Having been associated with Mr. Cutter on the committee which prepared the catalogue of the A.L.A. Library, 1893, I know that it amounts to entering nearly all pseudonymous works under the pseudonym. The reason for this change of opinion may be given in Mr. Cutter's own words: "It must be remembered that the catalogue is made for the reader, not for the cataloguer." With the development of elaborate codes of catalogue rules we have come to regard the catalogue as an end rather than a means, a scholarly, logical, and beautiful thing to be preserved inviolate from all inconsistencies. It was time to call a halt and to remind ourselves that the catalogue is simply a key to the contents of the library, and that the best catalogue for any library is the one that can be used most easily and effectively by its particular constituency. All along the line there is a tendency to emancipate ourselves from the tyranny of method, that is, to subordinate all the machinery of organization to its true place, a means of bringing the message of the book to the people.

The ease with which we adapt ourselves to changing requirements, although in the main conducive to progress, sometimes works disastrously. Indeed, a more thoughtful study of the real function of the library and appreciation of human needs, and a thorough understanding of local

conditions, would often save us from serious blunders. It is an expensive, though not impossible, task in a large library to change the catalogue entries to fit the later rule concerning pseudonyms. But when a mistake is made in a library building, for example, two or three generations at least must suffer the results of a hasty policy. The stack system, so admirably fitted to the necessity of storage in a library of 100,000 volumes and upwards, has been assumed, most unwisely, to be the system for the little library of 5,000 volumes. That this system does not fit the needs of a small library is now quite generally conceded. The stack system hinders free access and makes it difficult to secure the home-like and attractive air so important for the free library.

It is already questioned whether the duplicate fiction scheme which fits the conditions of the subscription library can be safely engrafted upon the free public library. It may be that it is justifiable for the library supported by the public tax to give special privileges to those who can afford to pay for them, but it should not create such a precedent without due consideration of its consequences, remote as well as immediate.

Doubtless, with added years, we shall gain wisdom, but probably we shall not lose the alertness and tendency to change which are the effect of a new civilization on the Anglo-Saxon race. We face the dangers and enjoy the compensation of the man who, in moving rapidly, is liable to stumble; but we are never ashamed to admit that we have stumbled, and to take a fresh start.

SALOME CUTLER FAIRCHILD.

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9<sup>th</sup> Nov.

Dear Mr Spielmann

I have begun your paper  
today, and hope to finish it  
this week. but I should like  
to know first what you people  
think about my colour notices.  
as I don't want to throw away  
time in recommending what  
they could not do.  
For one thing, I shall strongly urge  
the publication of continuous series  
of things, good or bad. Half the  
dullness of all our books is their  
being really like specimen advertisement  
books, instead of complete accounts  
of anything. Yrs affly J.R.  
dear Mr Spielmann by J.R.



## JOHN RUSKIN (BORN 1819, DIED 1900).



HE quiet extinction of John Ruskin, whose life in the limits of its peaceful work had been one of warfare, crusade, and valiant strife, has bereft our country of her greatest writer. But not as writer only will he be discussed, but as an æsthetic philosopher, a political reformer who is chimerical enough at times, as a scientist who never gave his talents their proper scope, and—a capacity not even now sufficiently recognized by the world—as an executive artist of high skill.

Twenty years ago it might have been necessary to defend the position of Ruskin as an artist, or perhaps even primarily to inform the general public of the wondrous beauty to be found in his drawings. But since that time the *éditions de luxe* have fully established his rank as one of the most exquisite draughtsmen, both with the point and in water-colour sketching, whom the country has produced. His work is limited in extent, and never executed for public exhibition; but for manual skill, a microscopic truth of observation, directed and moulded by a passionate poetic sense of the refined and gentler order, he has rarely been excelled. He was, in truth, a landscape and architectural artist of the greatest talent, of infinite delicacy, grace, feeling, and patience; and he more than once deplored to me that he had not given a greater share of his life to the practice of his art by which he might have effected more real good than by all his word-painting and preaching with the pen: "Not that I should have done anything great, but I could have made such beautiful records of things."

His actual masters in art were J. D. Harding (who was the first to inspire him with the idea that there was something more soulful and philosophic in it than appears upon the surface) and Copley Fielding. Then came his

love for Prout—he who above all others appreciated “Modern Painters” to the full when it first appeared. It was upon his manner that Ruskin loved to form his own, and he remained true to his “Proutism” to the end; for, speaking of his Brantwood drawings, he said: “Prout is one of the loves that always remain fresh to me; sometimes I tire of Turner, but never of Prout.” To what extent Turner was his idol it is not necessary here to insist: for Turner practically came for many years to be Ruskin’s *raison d’être*. Then followed his love for William Hunt and David Roberts; and on the work of all these men his own style of drawing was founded. But his approval of Roberts was greatly modified by time and by Roberts’s own development.

But it is primarily as a man of letters that Ruskin must be considered here.

Ruskin was intended for the Church. His mother—strict Evangelical soul—devoutly hoped that her son would become a bishop; his father firmly believed he would be a poet. And though Ruskin belied both prophecies, it must be admitted that he gave ample ground for the paternal conviction. His facility in verse-making was amazing, and from those tender years when, still a baby, he wrote the imaginative lines beginning

Papa, how pretty those icicles are,  
That are seen so near, that are seen so far,

he, in a short time, developed such fluency that few writers of verse of any age could excel him in the direction of “fatal facility.” His literary prose style had been founded on the Bible and Dr. Johnson, tempered by Carlyle; his poetic Muse was nourished on Byron, guided by Wordsworth, and modified by Scott. But, to his infinite credit, he early saw that his drift into art-criticism carried him into the right stream. Yet although the *feu sacré* burned brightly within him, although he heard on all sides that none had written such poetic prose as he, and although

his sensitiveness to nature and beauty was universally allowed him, he soon recognized that poetry was to him but a will-o'-the-wisp—to be wooed and followed, but, like Fata Morgana, never to be seized.

Yet, though he thus tacitly admitted, while yet a stripling, that verse was not the sword with which he was to conquer the recognition of the world, he made no objection to the republication of his poems by Mr. Collingwood. Their issue, in splendid garb, with many admirable fac-similes of the master's most beautiful drawings with pencil-point and brush, will be fresh in the memory of the reader. It might be said, not without truth, that the pictures formed the chief artistic value of the volumes; for, while the poems—with all their pretty daintiness and occasional power—savoured somewhat of precociousness, the pictures were full of richness of fancy, exquisiteness of touch, and true beauty—the attributes of real genius. The humour which distinguishes his unfinished autobiography, "*Præterita*," is often slyly pointed at his youthful indiscretions—poetical and otherwise; but in his "*Collected Poems*" the verses are put forth with a seriousness—almost a solemnity—which is a little out of balance with the subject. For, while the verse-lover may smile in sympathy with his dainty fancies, or fires, maybe, with noble suggestions, or nods his head gently in time to its musical cadences, the critic can but regret that a maturer judgment sent them forth as the poetical works of a great man, despite the exquisite beauty of their pictorial accompaniments. He brought as a sacrifice the harvest of his intellectual wild oats to the altar of public opinion; but it is doubtful if he cared for the verdict—if he ever knew of it. As in many another instance, his shaft had missed its aim. Just as a comedian yearns for recognition as an actor of tragedy, so Ruskin ever sought for some other judgment than that which an admiring public chose to pass upon him. The people acclaim him an art-critic: he would be taken for a political economist; the artists welcome

him as a writer: he would be taken as an art-preacher; Tyndall respected him as a controversialist, when he would be taken for a man of science. And here we find him applauded as an artist when he would be taken for a poet. But it must be remembered that it was from his young and hopeful heart that these poems flowed, even when he set himself—as he once amusingly observed—“in a state of magnificent imbecility to write a tragedy on a Venetian subject, in which Venice and love were to be described as never had been thought of before!” If, however, for no other reason than that it is the frank utterance of a young and gentle spirit, his verse—so sweetly, so nobly conceived—is to be welcomed beyond its inherent merit; but, as it fell out, his song—published just as he was vanishing from the world—became in truth the Song of the Swan.

Never, as I have elsewhere pointed out,<sup>1</sup> was anyone more clearly destined for the pursuit of literature than John Ruskin. At the age of five he was, as Mr. Collingwood puts it, a bookworm, and at six began to imitate the books he was reading and to write books himself. He would laboriously draw the “printing” with his own little hand, showing remarkable beauty and precision, as I can testify, and, planning out his literary campaign in advance, he embarked in a baby-historico-philosophical biography called “Harry and Lucy—printed and composed by a little boy.” This, after three years’ continuous application, was brought to completion with a full-dress “Conclusion.” Thus he proceeded, as the linnet sings, “because he must,” and not because he had any natural leaning towards pedantry or priggishness, in spite of parental encouragement in that direction. His training made him appreciative of “style” in literature, as in art, music, and nature herself; and it was his own inherent sensitiveness that led him to become the “stylist” he shows himself

<sup>1</sup> “The Book Buyer.” Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York. (October and November, 1899.)

in the first of his three literary periods. It is true that such he remained to the end of his days; but in the first period the literary manner is cultivated, and his books are polished till they shine again with their brilliancy. Afterwards, however, when he thought more of the matter than of the method—that is to say, when he was disappointed, if not actually heartbroken, at people attending not so much to the things he said as to his way of saying them—he cast aside, as far as he was able, the temptations of conscious craftsmanship.

His adoption of a literary "style" was not, however, in quite the first instance deliberate—it was forced upon the impressionable boy, and, striking in congenial soil, developed in proper accordance with the laws of evolution. Strongly influenced by the books he heard read as a child—such as "Don Quixote" and Young's "Night Thoughts"—and by the chapters of the Bible which he was ordered to commit to memory, the strongest of literary styles, and none but the best in their way, were all that he was allowed to know. Scott and Byron, as I have already said, were among his earlier models, until he came to learn that "Johnsonian balance and Byronic alliteration" were not "the ultimate virtues in English prose"—a conclusion borne in upon him by the reading of "the perfectest existing model"—Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity." Then Herbert, Helps, and Locke were among his early teachers, and Virgil too—all of whom were duly imitated, and some of the resultant masterpieces carefully fair-copied in the reverent spirit, and with some of the skill, inspired by the missals he had seen and regarded with loving awe. It is notable that when he first came to read Carlyle—that is to say, the "Heroes and Hero-Worship"—Ruskin liked neither his style nor mode of expression, though in course of time he duly came to submit to their influence and to regard the Chelsea Sage as his avowed Master, who was, he said, except himself, sole champion in England "for God and the Queen."

At first, then, Ruskin's style was poetic, vigorous, "grand" (as it was academically called) in its own order, even flamboyant; yet refined and graceful, always with a touch of tenderness or suspicion of daintiness—even when he was embarking upon some tragedy in which melting love or ferocious hate were to be presented as they had never been presented before. But all the while the young author was assiduously cultivating the art of writing—assisted by his old friend and literary mentor, Mr. W. H. Harrison; weighing words, rounding periods, arranging alliteration, and swelling up great volumes of sound and sense, rolling waves of indignation and denunciation, to such a point that all appearance of artificiality is absent from his finest work. "If I am ever allowed, by public estimate," he says somewhere, "to know anything whatever, it is—to write"; and he has declared that even in "the exaggerations" every word is carefully chosen and weighed before it is woven into his sentences. At first, indeed, "fine writing" for its own sake delighted his æsthetic soul, and the applause awarded to unprecedented success in its own line sounded pleasantly in his ears. But that did not suffice him. He came to look upon literary style as one of the lesser—if not the least of a writer's and a teacher's—gifts; and would even laugh at his own triumphs that once so delighted his parents and himself. "People used to call me a good writer then," he wrote long afterwards; "now they say I cannot write at all, because, for instance, if I think anybody's house is on fire, I only say, 'Sir, your house is on fire.' Whereas formerly I used to say, 'Sir, the abode in which you probably passed the delightful days of your youth is in a state of inflammation.' And everybody used to like the effect of the two *p*'s in 'probably passed,' and of the two *d*'s in 'delightful days.'" His mastery would not have bred such good-humoured contempt, had not the relative importance of his teaching and the principles for which he fought rightly assumed an overwhelming pre-

ponderance in his mind: weapons and armour being no doubt of vast concern in a life's struggle, but of infinitely less concern than the cause to be, by them, established and upheld.

So in due time—about the year 1860—his style was changed. The outbursts of poetic eloquence gave way to simplicity and clear-cut intelligibility, and relatively short sentences took the place of ripples of daintiness and waves of fascinating diction. Yet to the end he maintained his romantic passion for picturesque titles and non-explanatory chapter-headings, partly with the oft-expressed idea that a profound thinker and philosopher should not make his meaning too manifestly clear, lest by being too easily read and too readily understood his words should be as easily sipped and as readily forgotten. A little searching, it is obvious, is good for all but the superficial reader. And so, as M. de la Sizeranne has happily expressed it, the title of "Sesame" has no virtue to open the labyrinthine chamber of his meaning, and that of "Ariadne" no thread to guide you thither. Yet, if I may quote from my paper in "The Book Buyer" further, Ruskin remained as discursive and excursive as ever—more, indeed, than ever; a style that would be fatal to any but a man of genius, and disastrous even to him, had he not already planted himself firmly in the hearts and in (but not over) the heads of his countrymen. And thereafter Ruskin restrained his hand. One day, after reading to me the final sentences of one of the chapters of "Aratra Pentelici," in that delightful voice of sing-song, modulated cadence peculiar to him, he said, as he sadly closed the book: "There; I have never written closer than that." Indeed, he would polish and polish again, never failing at last to find in his boundless vocabulary the very words he sought, nor balked, through his unsurpassed craftsmanship, of reducing his sentences to their appointed conciseness. This same labour which he lavished on his books and lectures he did not hesitate to spend upon his numerous letters to the daily newspapers,



which he has told me more than once have received from him the same literary care as the works cast, one would have thought, in a more permanent form. In fact, the purely literary scales had, in a sense, fallen from his eyes, and he, whose fatal facility for versification had produced poems by the hundred and lines by the mile, came to confess at last, calmly and almost without regret, "I am no poet—I have no imagination." No writer was more modest than Ruskin—not because he did not appraise rightly his own powers, but in great measure because he so generously appraised those of others, and because, in his later years, he declined to consider the means as in any way comparable in importance with the end. His acclaim of Tennyson's "Brook" reminds one of Thackeray's famous enthusiasm for Dickens's "Death of Paul Dombey"—each man blinded to his own merits by the achievement of another. Yet Ruskin has often said that he wrote with effort. Sir Walter Scott wrote, he declared, as a stream flows; "but I do all my brain-work like a wrung sponge, and am tired out, and good for nothing after it." Wrung to some purpose—and the drops not at all bubbling up like those in Sir Walter's "stream." Natural ability was cultivated in Ruskin's case, by considerable classic scholarship and by wide study of the literature of other countries; and, as we know, he could criticise a translation from Dante in the light of the original, as to shade of meaning and the subtlest laws of versification.

The teaching of John Ruskin might for convenience' sake be divided into Art and General Teaching, which together form a synthetic philosophy, erratic enough at first sight to a superficial observer, but consistent and focussed in aim when properly understood.<sup>1</sup> Codified as has been his teaching by Mr. Collingwood, Mr. Cook, and minor disciples, it is simple and clear, its fundamental

<sup>1</sup> I venture here to draw somewhat upon my book, "John Ruskin. A Sketch of his Life, his Work, and his Opinions. With Personal Reminiscences. Illustrated. Cassell and Co., 1900."

principles being honesty, piety, and sincerity in all things—in art, in ethics. A philosopher so impulsive and, at times, so hasty as Mr. Ruskin, naturally laid himself freely open to attack, and of this weakness advantage has, from time to time, been fully taken by vigorous and pitiless assailants. A fighter of the Puritan sort—"as zealous, pugnacious, and self-sure a Protestant as you please," as he himself has expressed it—he hit hard, loving nothing so much as to pillory acknowledged wrongs and conventional rights. He thus made for himself more enemies than most men, though not so many perhaps as he would, had people not regarded him as something of a prophet of old, or as a hot-tempered enthusiast, whose seriously overcharged brain carried him beyond the limits of soberer judgment and moderation. Rarely has an English man of letters been the subject of such a slashing and abusive attack as Ruskin even recently was the victim of at the hands of the "Quarterly Review," and many others joined with interest in the campaign of retaliation. The development of his ideas with time and maturity of judgment placed a ready weapon in the hands of his opponents which they were not slow to use; but more than once he has turned and emptied upon them with withering effect the vials of his wrath and scathing invective, which have few parallels in the language.

Early in his career he assumed the "apostolic attitude" in respect, not only to art, but to the whole principles of life. Applying the results of his thoughts and doctrines, he came to set up Religion and Ethics as in direct opposition to Science and Avarice; and there we have the philosophy of his early life in a nutshell. It was not long before he modified this view to a sensible degree; his Evangelical training began to fade before his kindlier sentiments, and loosened its uncompromising grasp. But from the beginning to the end his motto was "All great art is praise"; and this he followed logically with the thesis that "the teaching of art is the teaching of all things." Art, he said,

is to minister to a sense of beauty—a view which enabled him to bring nearly every subject within his net; and then, inversely, he taught that beauty in all things—actual, æsthetic, moral, and ethical—that was the end and aim of life. It was to the propagation of this idea that he set his mind—that mind that Mazzini declared was the most analytical in Europe; but the length to which he carried his arguments (such as, that no man can be an architect who is not also a metaphysician) raised a veritable storm of criticism and dissent, upon which the young philosopher rode forward in triumph and delight.

George Eliot—declaring that “I venerate him as one of the great teachers of the age: he teaches with the inspiration of a Hebrew prophet”—saw no reason to contest his two leading doctrines—Quixotic purity of commercial morality to the point of impracticability and stagnation, and a religious view of higher art almost to the point of monastic exclusiveness and ethical fervour. His search after honesty and truth in art enabled him to claim that “it was left to me, and me alone, first to discern and then to teach—as far as in this hurried century any such thing *can* be taught—the excellence and supremacy of five great painters, despised until I spoke of them: Turner, Tintoret, Luini, Botticelli, and Carpaccio.” And in ordinary life he thought he discovered that manual labour and every effort of the body, to the exclusion of all mechanical assistance, was thrice-blessed, and the more highly sanctified the baser and more menial the office.

When Adam delved and Eve span,  
Where was then the gentleman?

must have come more than once to his mind. Thus it was that he learned the art of crossing-sweeping in London from a knight of the broom, and the art of road-making too. It speaks eloquently for his power of persuasion, and his sway over the affections of his pupils, that he brought the Oxford undergraduates, during his Slade

professorship, to play the navvy, and with pick and spade to construct the Hincksey Road, to the delight and amusement of all the countryside. The road, I believe, is a very bad one, but it was made, and that was enough for Ruskin.

As to the ordinary University course and University teaching, Ruskin besought his students to confine themselves to the regular curriculum; but, as for languages—their own and foreign—he told them to learn the former at home, and the others in the various countries; “and, after they’ve learned all they want, learn wholesomely to hold their tongues, except on extreme occasions, in all languages whatsoever.”

William Morris rightly declared that Ruskin was the one man who has made Art possible in England. Dr. Waldstein has placed him on an equal pedestal with Matthew Arnold as an apostle of culture. And, further, by proclaiming his service in combating the severance of morality and economics, in “killing the fetish of the *Quartier Latin*,” and in inducing the love and study of nature and landscape-painting, he has awarded Ruskin the palm he sought for—the admission that he has reached his goal. In short, as has been said, Ruskin stood midway between the religious and scientific lines of thought—as a theistic philosopher. It is claimed for him that he inaugurated the era of scientific and methodical art-criticism, and ranged himself beside Carlyle, Emerson, and Hegel against the advancing materialism of the day.

His originality and invariable happiness of expression drew, perhaps, undue public attention to his versatility and views of things in general, and he was listened to with pleasure by adversaries, as by friends and followers. His theory of political economy was too ideal to be acceptable to the work-a-day world; yet his “*Time and Tide*” and “*Ethics of the Dust*” gained no small share of approval from non-capitalists. With Palmerston, Gladstone, and Disraeli, Ruskin contested for his opinions in vigorous

conversation; but, as he himself has described, with but little effect. For Palmerston gently remonstrated with him; Gladstone hotly argued, and Disraeli cynically chaffed him—but Ruskin held on: the precise attitude that might have been expected from the characteristics of the four men. On this subject he remained firm: "My political teaching," he said, "has never changed in a single thought or word, and, being that of Homer and Plato, is little likely to do so, though not acceptable to a country whose milkmaids cannot make butter, nor her blacksmiths bayonets."

Ardent in all things, he was an ardent politician, but he was strongly opposed to government by party, being convinced that the ablest men should be in the positions for which they were best suited. "I care no more for Mr. D'Israeli or Mr. Gladstone than for two old bagpipes with the drones going by steam," he once wrote; "but I hate all Liberalism as I do Beelzebub, and, with Carlyle, I stand, we two alone now in England, for God and the Queen." This is on all fours with the sentiment he once imparted to me, and which at the time it was in my province to make known to the world: "There is one political opinion I do entertain, and that is that Mr. Gladstone is an old wind-bag, who uses his splendid gifts of oratory, not for the elucidation of a subject, but for its vaporization in a cloud of words"—a sentiment, he told me afterwards, which gave the greatest offence to Miss Gladstone, of whom he was so fond, and now she wouldn't look at him! "I am not a Liberal—quite the Polar contrary of that. I am, and my father was before me, a violent Tory of the old school (Walter Scott's school);" and again, "I am a violent Illiberal, but it does not follow that I must be a Conservative. I want to keep the fields of England green and her cheeks red." He wrote to a friend: "I beg of you, so far as you think of me, not to think of me as a Tory, or as in any wise acknowledging party principles;" and, finally, declaring himself what

amounts to a limited Home Ruler, he piously proclaimed himself a believer in "the minority of One!"

There seems to be good ground for the belief that had not Art claimed Ruskin for her own, his love of Nature would have been diverted into scientific channels. Dr. Buckland and James Forbes had done much with him, and, as he believed and said with perfect candour, he might have become the first geologist in Europe. Geology, mineralogy, meteorology, glacier movements, mountains, rocks, clouds, and perspective, birds and plants, all engaged his attention, and to good purpose enlisted his highest powers. But for all that, he hated mathematics; and having once learned, with the rest of the children at the Coniston school, how much seven and twenty pounds of bacon would come to at  $9\frac{1}{4}d.$  a pound, "with sundry the like marvellous consequences of the laws of numbers," he stopped the mistress and diverted the delighted children's attention to object-lessons more picturesque, and, as he believed, more interesting and useful. Yet his contributions to science are not altogether insignificant, and Tyndall had cause to fear his lash when he opposed the glacier-theory of James Forbes, and, as Ruskin himself told me with unusual bitterness, "put back the glacier-theory twenty years and more—a theory which had been decided before that conceited, careless schoolboy was born!"

In religion Ruskin may be described as a Broad Churchman; earnest and pious, but no bigot, as the following passage, extracted from a private letter, will show: "If people in this world would but teach a little less religion and a little more common honesty, it would be much more to everybody's purpose—and to God's." As a child he was brought up in the Evangelical faith, but soon became more catholic and tolerant, looking with horror on the more intolerant attitude of Protestantism or Puritanism, and with scorn upon all sects alike and their belittling quarrels. Still, as before and later, religion in its larger

sense was the forerunning principle of his life—the passion that directed every act and moulded every thought.

It is thirty-five years since M. Milsand published the first book printed abroad on the eloquence and the art-teaching of Ruskin. Only this year appears in English translation M. Robert de la Sizeranne's exquisite volume, in which the whole Ruskinian philosophy and characteristics have been set forth in masterly manner. The Venetian municipality has paid formal homage to the man to whom their fair city in these latter days owes so much. Only yesterday a "Ruskin Union" was formed. The fame, if not the cult, of "the Master" seems likely at last to spread its borders and to yield to others the delights hitherto enjoyed only by the Anglo-Saxon race. There lies before me a letter from M. de la Sizeranne, in which he says: "I have made a collection of the articles on Ruskin in the French Press, which I place at your disposal. The general tone is one of enthusiasm for the great Englishman. The two nations, so divided when they look together towards the South of Africa, are closely united when they turn their gaze to the North of England—to Brantwood." No one has appreciated more highly than Ruskin the noblest qualities of the French nation when displayed in their finest art, and none has read with more inspiration or with more humility out of "The Bible of Amiens." That at the moment of his death he can, even for a moment, silence the voice of rancour, bitterness, and malevolence is a thing eloquent enough of his power and love and gentleness; that, while his position as a writer is assured, he should even now be spreading his influence over Europe—thanks to the enthusiasm of noble minds in France and elsewhere—is a circumstance far more significant: for the peace and charity of the world, of the fullest promise, and for his reputation, triumphant at last.

M. H. SPIELMANN.



## SCIENCE NOTES.



WIRELESS telegraphy seems to be the department of science most in public view. The past few months have proved its value in many ways. One of the most striking was the signalling by Marconi's system from the Needles to the "St. Paul" as it was passing sixty-six miles away. What is now required is that some use may be made of this system not only in our fleet as a means of communication, but that it may be applied to warning vessels of a perhaps dangerous proximity to the shore.

The application of science to sport is not always a success, but when an engineer turns his attention to a method of propulsion he usually accomplishes something. A very interesting paper was lately read at Birmingham by Messrs. R. E. and C. Crompton on the fitting of the cycle to its rider. The authors divide the energy used in riding into three parts, brain waste, nerve waste, that which energizes the muscles, and muscle waste. Hitherto the third only has been considered, but the authors hold that the second is the larger and more important. Any means of reducing the number of muscle contractions economizes this energy. They therefore recommend a high gear. To escape the strain on the muscles thus produced they recommend long cranks—the length recommended being half that of the thigh bone.

Some interesting records of the distance at which explosions are felt and heard were obtained after the explosion of some 80 tons of chlorate of potash at St. Helens. The sound was heard over an area of 850 square miles, 28 miles in one direction and 10 in the other. The Erith explosion was felt over 30 miles away, and the Regent's Canal some 23 miles.

With regard to the International Catalogue of Scientific Literature, we learn that an International Conference, to arrive at a final decision on all matters concerning the catalogue, will be held at Easter.

Professor Dewar has been studying the effect of low temperatures on living organisms. The results are sufficiently startling. Hitherto life has always been supposed to be accompanied by the combination of oxygen with the substance of the cell. But at temperatures where oxygen is solid this combination must cease. Yet seeds and living organisms have been exposed to this temperature and have afterwards germinated when carefully thawed.

A very interesting paper on the manufacture of artificial silk was recently read at the Society of Arts. We learn that one of the minor uses of the new material is for mantles for the incandescent gas light—the collodion being readily miscible with the salts of the rare earths to which the mantle owes its properties.

The great telescope for the Paris Exhibition is nearly ready. Its constructors hope for such a magnification that the moon may be seen as if it were at 67 kilometres distance. Under these conditions an object of one metre square might be seen. During the exhibition images of the various celestial bodies are to be thrown on a screen by its means—that of the moon being 16 metres in diameter and of Mars 3·7.

R. STEELE.

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